THE NEW KNOW-NOTHINGS

Tristram Coffin

Office memo

THANKSGIVING has an added meaning for the staff of *The Progressive* this year, for just as we were beginning our holiday preparations, our spirits were lifted by a significant spurt in contributions and pledges that put *The Progressive's* Membership Campaign over the top. We now have on hand, or pledged, the $31,000 so urgently needed to assure publication during the year ahead.

The generosity and loyalty of the Members of *The Progressive* are the wonder and envy of other magazine publishers: Not once since the Membership plan was begun in 1947 have we failed to reach our goal—this year more promptly than ever.

Of the scores of heartwarming letters from Members that we found so encouraging during the campaign, there was one from that grand old man of the publishing world and the veteran of countless struggles for freedom, Ben W. Huebsch, that we especially prize:

"Your reasonable remarks in the October Office Memo," wrote Mr. Huebsch, "in response to the subscriber who, innocently enough, inquired why *The Progressive* can't pay its way, might be supplemented thus: An art museum, a university, a symphony orchestra isn't expected to pay its way out of the normal fees for admission. Nothing in our society pays its way except business conducted with a sole view to profit. When *The Progressive* declares a dividend its present clientele of skeptics, idealists, and students will necessarily have to seek a new champion.

"Please don't pay your way. Don't deprive your readers of the satisfaction of contributing to keep a thoughtful and disinterested magazine on an even keel."

We appreciate Mr. Huebsch's insight and understanding. And we deeply appreciate the response of the thousands of readers who felt some satisfaction in contributing toward the cause of keeping *The Progressive* "on an even keel" through the coming twelve months.

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The current sharpened interest in civil defense has brought many requests for reprints of Milton Mayer's quietly devastating piece on bomb shelters, "The Tomb," and a renewal of interest in two reprints of several months ago. In response to this demand, we have gone back to press with Senator Stephen Young's "Civil Defense: Billion Dollar Boondoggle," and Governor Robert Meyner's "The Cruel Deception of Civilian Defense." All three reprints, individually or in combination, are available at the prices indicated on Page 39.

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Subscribers who send us a change of address are urged to include the *old* address as well as the new.

VOLUME 25 NUMBER 12

The

FOUNDED IN 1909 BY ROBERT M. LaFOLLETTE, SR.

DECEMBER, 1961

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THE PROGRESSIVE makes no attempt to exact complete conformity from its contributors, but rather welcomes a variety of opinions consistent with its general policies. Signed articles, therefore, do not necessarily represent the opinion of the management of the magazine.

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PROGRESSIVE

"YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH
AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

Sanity under Fire

PRESIDENT Kennedy's declaration of a double-edged position on American resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere left us whipsawed by clashing emotions. His decision to order preparations for renewal of the tests magnified our fear that a new and more poisonous arms race was in the making. His decision to refrain from testing—at least until our scientists have had an opportunity to evaluate the results of the recent Soviet test series—kept alive our flickering hope that sanity, so long under fire, may yet prevail.

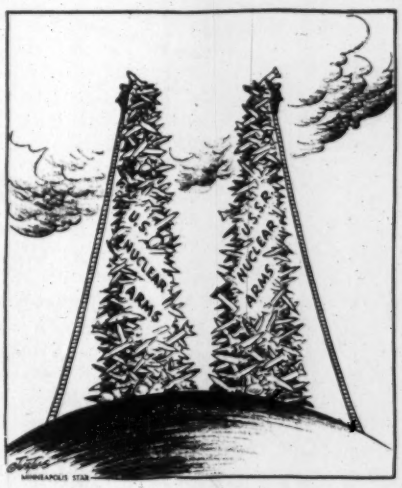
It may be quite true, as the cynics suggest, that the President's mind is made up, that he stopped short of ordering immediate tests in the atmosphere only because the military scientists need time to prepare for them. *Time*, which frequently palms off unsupported opinion as verified news, put it this way: "Behind the President's carefully qualified words lay a decision already made: the United States will resume atomic testing in the atmosphere as soon as it can get ready to do so." *Time* may have stumbled onto the truth this time, but we are disinclined to accept its inference of fraud on the part of the President.

Mr. Kennedy has been subjected to extraordinary pressure from the Pentagon, politicians, and the press to resume testing in the atmosphere. The criminal conduct of the Soviets in breaking the three-year test moratorium by polluting the atmosphere with the explosion of more than thirty nuclear weapons generated a frenzied demand for retaliation. The clamor reached its peak when the Russians exploded a fifty-seven megaton bomb over the Arctic, the greatest man-made explosion in history—some 3,000 times as powerful as the bomb that destroyed Hiroshima in 1945.

Although he surrendered strategic ground by ordering preparations for testing in case he later deems it necessary, the President refused to be stampeded into announcing an immediate resumption of tests in the atmosphere. How long he can stand up to the pressure may depend, in part, on the extent to which a countervailing public opinion can be mobilized and made articulate in opposition to testing. We hope that every reader of *The Progressive* will let the President know how he feels on this critical issue.

We are not suggesting that a decision in this vastly complicated area can be made by a show of hands. But there are moral and political issues of public policy involved that need to be subjected to public scrutiny and debate. We have been told by eminent authority, for example, that we now possess the nuclear power to destroy the Soviets. What moral right do we have to poison the atmosphere and threaten health and heredity simply to "improve" weapons that are already capable of total destruction?

We are also told by the most highly qualified experts that we can achieve the "refinements" of nuclear weapons demanded by the Pentagon by testing underground or in space, where there is no fallout, rather than in the atmosphere, where explosions produce poisonous radioactive debris. Thus, Dr. Hans Bethe, one of the most renowned of our experts who headed the United States' scientific team at the Geneva test ban negotiations, asserted after the Soviet explosion of the fifty-seven megaton bomb that he still opposed resumption of testing in the atmosphere. "I think we can do everything we have to do underground and possibly in space," he said.



Justus in The Minneapolis Star

The Two Deterrent Forces

Additional confirmation came from one of the nation's foremost nuclear scientists, Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, in a "Meet the Press" interview in which, among others, these questions were asked and these answers given by Dr. Seaborg:

Q. At one time you said we can go a long way toward keeping pace with the Russians even if they continue testing in the atmosphere, if we continue testing underground, is that correct?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you still believe that?

A. Yes, I still believe that.

Q. What about these tests that they have made so far, can we test in the undeground and still keep up with them despite these tests?

A. Yes, I believe so.

Q. You were reported as saying that you didn't think the Russians were ahead of us in nuclear development. Do you still feel that despite these twenty-five tests?

A. Yes, I still feel that way . . .

Q. The moratorium with the Russians was on testing but not on production. Have we been able to improve our weapons during the period of the moratorium?

A. . . . we certainly have been improving our weapons during the moratorium, very substantially.

The conclusion that we have an undoubted superiority in nuclear weapons is massively confirmed by those in a position to know. Representative Albert Thomas, Texas Democrat and a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, reported recently: "We are very, very far ahead of the Russians. There is no doubt about that." Said Deputy Defense Secretary Roswell L. Gilpatrick: "The fact is that this nation has a nuclear retaliatory force of such lethal power that an enemy move which brought it into play would be an act of self-destruction on his part."

President Kennedy has been even more emphatic. On August 31, when the Soviets resumed nuclear testing, the White House issued the following statement: "The President is entirely confident that the size of the U.S. nuclear weapons stockpile and the capability of individual weapons and delivery systems are wholly adequate for the defense needs of the United States and the free world."

On October 26, the White House renewed its assurances: "The existing U.S. nuclear arsenal is superior in quantity and quality to that of any other nation. The United States today has ample nuclear power to destroy any nation which would unleash thermonuclear war." And again, on November 2, Mr. Kennedy told the country that "we have many times more nuclear power than any other nation on earth" and that "these capabilities are deployed so as to survive any sneak attack and thus enable us to devastate any nation which initiates a nuclear attack on the United States or its allies."

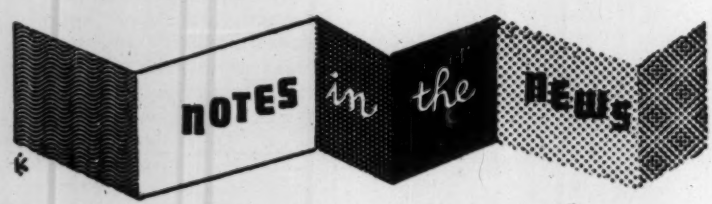
Here, from the Americans most qualified to know, is the evidence that 1) we have everything we need not only for defense but also for the devastation of an aggressor; 2) we have many times more nuclear power than any nation on earth; and 3) if the Pentagon feels the need to refine or expand its collection of nuclear monsters, it can satisfy its hunger by testing underground or in space. Given these facts, we fail to see how American security would be significantly advanced by a resumption of tests in the atmosphere. On the contrary, we would lose measurable ground in the moral area of the world struggle if we permit the Soviets to provoke us into emulating their contempt for the opinion of mankind by adopting their terror tactics.

It was this theme that James J. Wadsworth emphasized in a recent issue of *Saturday Review*. Wadsworth, who represented President Eisenhower at the Geneva negotiations to outlaw nuclear tests and later as his ambassador to the U.N. wrote:

"The Administration and the American people should ask themselves: Do we deliberately wish to flout opinion all over the world in order to gain an advantage which is nebulous to say the least? Do we feel that it is worthwhile to emulate Soviet brutality in order to be able to tell Congress, the American people, and the rest of the world, that now we can kill people ten times over rather than nine times over?"

President Kennedy has said that "We will continue to be ready to sign the nuclear test treaty which provides for adequate inspection and control." The Kremlin has replied that it will not sign such a treaty unless it is part of a general agreement for complete, universal disarmament. But there is no certainty the Soviets will persist in this refusal. Twice in recent months the Kremlin has retreated from proclaimed positions—once when it surrendered its insistence on the troika concept in the United Nations and again when Nikita Khrushchev abandoned his year-end deadline for a German peace treaty.

It is conceivable that if we refrain from testing in the atmosphere and move to mobilize world opinion in support of an enforcible treaty ban, the Soviets may again drop their intransigence and agree to a resumption of negotiations. Certainly such a course holds out the greatest hope of preventing an intensification of the poison-laden nuclear arms race and thus preserving for ourselves and the world a semblance of the sanity that has been so long under fire.



Significant Triumph

Democratic Party victories in New York and New Jersey commanded most of the front-page headlines, but the decisive election of Henry Gonzales of San Antonio, Texas, to Congress strikes us as a considerably more significant triumph. It was in San Antonio that the Republican Party unveiled its strategy for 1962—an all-out attack on the Kennedy Administration as "soft on Communism" and "appeasement-minded" in its conduct of foreign affairs.

John Goode, the Republican candidate who embraces the philosophy of the far Right, lashed out at Gonzales, a militant Democratic liberal, and at President Kennedy for not being more aggressive on foreign policy issues. Republican Senators Barry Goldwater of Arizona and John Tower of Texas, two of the most trigger-happy characters in Congress, pounded the same theme in speeches they delivered in Goode's behalf.

Democrats prayed Gonzales would squeeze through by a thousand votes. He won comfortably by 10,000. Given the variety of factors and forces involved in the campaign, it would be a mistake to conclude that the Gonzales victory represented a complete repudiation of the "soft on Communism" humbug to which Re-

publican planners seem committed. But, as even *The Wall Street Journal* conceded, this was the dominant G.O.P. strategy "and it failed."

Our great hope is that President Kennedy, who reads election returns, will feel somewhat more secure in the knowledge that the Republican strategists' drive to equate negotiation with appeasement does not begin to command the support claimed for it.

New Role for the Military

Major General Edwin A. Walker's 5,000-word statement explaining his recent resignation from the Army is one of the most disturbing documents we have seen in many a month. Its dominant theme, ignored or overlooked by the press, is that the military establishment must take over the education of American youth, in civilian no less than in military affairs, because parents, schools, and churches have proved themselves unequal to the task.

Walker, who commands a considerable following among the radical Right in Congress and the country, drew a picture of subversion run rampant in the United States that rivals some of the headline-hunting chillers of the late Senator Joseph R. McCarthy.

"We employ its [Communism's] agents in the teaching profession," declared Walker. "They infest our entertainment media. They long ago have infiltrated our government so that a scheme of subversion can be traced through three decades. Even our free press is exploited by Communist propagandists."

In recent years, the general complained, "Troop commanders have been working under severe handicaps. The young men who came to us from America's schools and homes and churches were uninformed about their enemy. The training and preparation they should have been getting had been sadly neglected. We found it necessary to remedy this deficiency."

The deficiency, it turns out, is the inability of the American boy entering the armed forces to grasp the fact that we are already at war. "He needs to understand, as does every citizen, that we have long ago crossed the beaches and the water's edge and that we are in a death struggle now,

Herblock in The Washington Post

Army Education Program

on the high seas, in the air, on the land, in outer space, and in every local community where the agents of those who hope to conquer the world seek to undermine us."

General Walker would not stop with educating the American soldier to understand all this. "It has been suggested," he said, "that discussion and consideration of domestic civilian matters are not within the province of the military. I disagree. Soldiers come to us from civilian life and sooner or later will return to civilian life. I submit, therefore, that they should be permitted to know, without interruption, what is going on at home, and abroad, for their interest and the interest of the home they protect."

But, the record shows, the General is far less interested in making it possible for the boys to know "what is going on at home and abroad" than he is in indoctrinating them with his personal brand of Right-wing lunacy. Walker is a member of the John Birch Society, which believes that Dwight Eisenhower is "a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy," that Milton Eisenhower is his brother's "superior and boss in the Communist Party," that John Foster Dulles was and Allen Dulles is a Communist agent, and that Chief Justice Earl Warren should be impeached as a traitor. Walker is on record as regarding Harry S. Truman, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Dean Acheson as "definitely pink" and Edward R. Murrow, Walter Lippmann, and Eric Sevareid as "confirmed Communists."

Liberals Asleep

General Walker is entitled to his idiocy, but the official report of the Inspector General of the Army reveals that he sought to inflict his political views on his troops, principally, as we reported in this space last month, by urging the men under his command to be guided in their voting for Senators and Representatives by the evaluations published by Americans for Constitutional Action, one of the most relentlessly reactionary organizations in the country. This is an unlawful act, and it would have been equally unlawful, of course, if Walker had exhorted his men to judge candidates by the yardsticks of the liberal Americans for Democratic Action.

What disturbed us most about General Walker's extraordinary statement of resignation was his revelation that "troop commanders" are moving in to "remedy" the "deficiency" created by the "neglect" of parents, schools, and churches. We can conceive of nothing more perilous for the preservation of our democracy than for the military establishment, perhaps even now the most dominant force in the country, to usurp the roles of parents, schools, and churches.

An investigation of charges that military officials have been "censored" and "muzzled" by the Administration is about to be launched by a Senate Committee. It was instigated by the forces of the far Right, determined to come to the defense of characters like General Walker. The liberals in Congress have been asleep at the switch in allowing the Right-wing crowd to seize the initiative. What is urgently needed is a wide-ranging investigation of the extent to which the military establishment, playing on the fears and frustrations generated by cold war tensions, is attempting to reverse the traditional American adherence to the concept of the supremacy of the civilian establishment over the military establishment.

Hide, Don't Run

Now that so many Americans across the nation—from the President and the Pentagon brass to the editors of *Life* and a depressing number of ordinary citizens—have pinned their faith on fallout shelters, civil defense officials have decided to tag along and adopt them, too. Civil defense director Stuart L. Pittman announced recently—with obvious reluctance—that his agency had officially switched to advocating fallout shelters rather than evacuation as the first line of civilian defense.

"For many years," said Pittman, "reliance has been placed on evacuation . . . a new emphasis is clearly necessary."

The truth is that almost no one except civil defense officials ever placed much reliance on evacuation. The Office of Civilian Defense tried for years to sell the idea to an apathetic and skeptical public, but there were few buyers. Now this somewhat pathetic agency finds itself almost the last straggler to get aboard the shelter bandwagon—an approach to nuclear war about as dubious and unconvincing as its predecessor, a point we developed in these columns last month.

Signs of Danger

Representative Robert W. Kastenmeier, who so ably represents *The Progressive's* home district in the House, delivered the *coup de grace* to the evacuation nonsense. In a letter to civil defense director Pittman, Kastenmeier requested that evacuation route signs be removed from his Congressional district because "they give a dangerously false sense of security." Kastenmeier criticized the evacuation signs as not only ineffective but "dangerous, since they deceive people as to the real danger they would face in a nuclear war. . . . Signs which suggest that evacuation is a real possibility only breed an optimism which is cruel and misleading."

But does the shelter program offer any more security than the discredited evacuation plan? The very day the press announced that civil defense had shifted its emphasis from running to hiding, a Rockefeller Institute report contended that bomb explosions in the high megaton range greatly reduced the effectiveness of shelters except in areas far removed from the blast. Prepared for the nonpartisan Scientists' Committee for Radiation Information, the study concluded that a twenty-megaton burst over Manhattan would kill six million New Yorkers, sheltered or not, plus many tens of thousands of suburban dwellers.

How About the Russians?

One of the arguments frequently advanced for pursuing a vigorous shelter and civil defense program is that the Soviets are working extensively in this area. The persuasiveness of the argument eludes us, but in any case the premise is based on fragmentary and highly contradictory reports.

An analyst for the Rand Corporation, for example, recently testified before a Congressional committee that the Soviet Union "for the last ten years has been engaged in an extensive and expanding civilian defense program . . .," including lengthy training programs that reach as many as 100 million Russians, the publication of more than 100 different handbooks and instruction manuals on civil defense, and widespread shelter installations. Little or no emphasis is placed on private shelters, according to the Rand expert, but the subways in the larger cities are equipped to house two million persons.

Herblock in the Washington Post

"It's Sure Dark in Here"

Be Sure to Wash Your Pig

On the other hand, New York *Times* correspondent Osgood Caruthers found that "nowhere in Moscow or any other city visited by foreigners can one find signs pointing to shelters . . . no practice alerts are held . . . posters are extremely rare . . . [and there is] no such thing as an effort . . . to organize block crews or house wardens for civil defense." Referring to alleged secret information on civil defense in the Soviet Union, Caruthers concluded, "Nothing that can be seen, heard, or read here in Moscow gives even a hint of support for such reports."

Preston Glover, of the Associated Press, filed a story from Moscow emphasizing he had made "a sustained but unsuccessful hunt to find either a bomb shelter or anyone who has seen one." Glover does report publication last December of a pamphlet—one of a series—on fallout protection. It sells for about ten cents, but "there are no indications it is a best seller." The pamphlet contains instructions for digging trenches and covering them with logs and earth, and a reminder to be sure to wash everything upon emerging—including the family pig.

Labor and the Negro

A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a member of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, has fought a long, lonely, and often losing battle to break down the barriers of racial discrimination within the labor movement. His hard-hitting charge that the AFL-CIO had failed to come to grips with the problem recently resulted in a twenty-page rebuttal by the Executive Council. It is a lusterless, self-serving document that winds up blaming Randolph for "the gap that has developed between organized labor and the Negro community."

It may be true that the AFL-CIO is, as it claimed in its rebuttal, "a major and foremost force for the elimination of all race discrimination . . ." but it is equally true that it has not moved far enough fast enough to wipe out the considerable pockets of discrimination that survive in key labor areas.

Twenty-four hours after the AFL-CIO hierarchy had cleared itself of

Randolph's charges, the United States Civil Rights Commission issued a somewhat more objective report that concluded: "Most international unions have failed to exhibit any profound concern over civil rights problems" and several craft unions, "including those in the building and construction trades, have clung to their historic attitudes" of denying Negroes work in their trades.

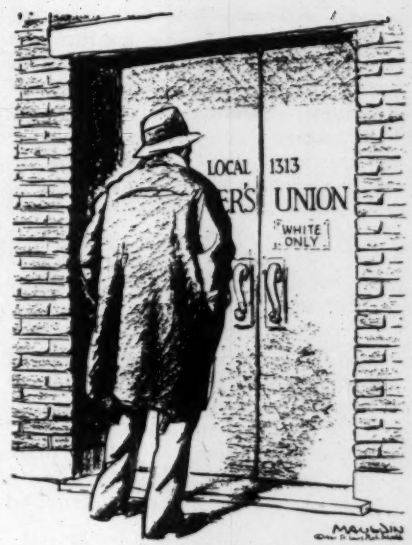
The Commission unanimously recommended that Congress amend the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (the Landrum-Griffin Law) to provide that no union deny membership to, segregate, or expel any person because of race, color, religion, or national origin. Here, it seems to us, is an effective instrument to combat discrimination in the unions. Here, too, is a timely opportunity for labor leadership to demonstrate good faith in support of its good intentions by pressing for such legislation when the AFL-CIO Convention is held in Miami Beach this month.

The Old Frontier

The bulging budget for armaments has led the Kennedy Administration to "reevaluate" its spending for non-military purposes. The first agency to respond was the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Secretary Abraham Ribicoff announced a slash of nearly $102,000,000 in appropriations for the Food and Drug Administration, the Office of Education, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the Public Health Service, and the Social Security Administration.

Hardest hit was the Public Health Service, which was cut $76,806,000, of which some $15,000,000 had been earmarked for cancer research by the National Institutes of Health. Dr. I. S. Ravdin of the University of Pennsylvania said that if the cut is sustained, clinicians may not be able to use twenty-three promising new drugs which have been tested in the laboratory stage at the National Institutes of Health.

This strikes us as the most self-defeating kind of economy—the kind we hardly expected to encounter on the New Frontier. It seems to us inconceivable that the richest nation on earth, now spending more than



Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

Closed Shop

fifty billion dollars a year on armaments, must pick the pockets of its cancer research program of fifteen million dollars as a gesture to economy. We simply can't afford that kind of economy.

The Hat Trick

Robert Welch, founder and proprietor of the John Birch Society, recently estimated that one-half of one per cent of the Catholic clergy in the United States are Communist sympathizers—"Comsymps" as he puts it. This is a pretty small percentage for a man who thinks the Eisenhowers and the Dulleses sold out to the Kremlin, but still it troubled Catholic leaders. They asked for particulars.

Specifically, *The Pilot*, official publication of the Boston archdiocese, asked the pandjandrum of the rabid Right how he had come by his figure.

"It was a complete guess . . . simply pulled out of a hat," he explained.

We have never seen Welch with his hat on, or hat in hand, for that matter, but we can see that hat now in our mind's eye—a wide, roomy, Texas job, perhaps twenty gallons, from which he pours the names and numbers and percentages of Comsymps without benefit of a jigger. It reminds us, somehow, of the trick Joe McCarthy used to play on the sawdust circuit. He would jump onto the platform with a briefcase which he implied was bulging with damming documents, launch into his expose of Communist infiltration of the highest echelons of government, and turn his eyes for confirmation to the briefcase—which he never opened. We often wondered if it contained his laundry.

The Battle for the Ballot

The Negro's fight for freedom in the South is now concentrating on a front which may well develop into the key battle in his long and painful campaign for equality. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., announced recently that a drive has been launched to double the number of Negroes registered to vote in Southern states, a movement backed by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, of which Dr. King is president. Victories won by the sit-in movement and the Freedom Riders have encouraged the Southern Negro to win for himself freedom of the ballot, but this fight promises to meet more formidable resistance from segregationists than any of the inspiring movements so far aimed at changing "the mind of the South."

Dr. King reported that of five million eligible Negroes in the South, only a fourth could now vote, largely because of stubborn, and so far successful, resistance of white officials to Negro registration. Few Negroes, and in some instances none at all, are registered in one hundred counties in eight Southern states. In scores of other counties, especially where Negro population is heavy, Negro voting, like school segregation, is little more than token.

Yet prospects for progress are brighter than ever before—not only because the "new Negro" is more insistent on obtaining his rights, but because he now has two powerful allies eager to fight in his behalf: the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

The Civil Rights Commission began functioning four years ago under the terms of the Civil Rights Act of 1957. Its findings and recommendations during the first two years of its life, under the chairmanship of John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, resulted in the

Civil Rights Act of 1960, which strengthened the hand of the Federal government in protecting Negro voting rights. The published report of the Commission, based on a mountain of evidence acquired in scores of hearings in the South, reveals the magnitude and the intensity of Southern resistance to Negro participation in the political life of the nation.

Keeping Them in Their Place

The Louisiana story, as developed at the Commission's New Orleans hearings, provides the most complete picture of the variety of devices used to prevent the Negro from voting, although the same techniques are used throughout the South in varying degree. The Louisiana state legislature and executive branch, county and city officials, white citizens' groups, landowners, merchants, bankers, and in some measure state courts, have all joined forces to deprive the Negro of his vote. Even some Federal district judges have moved only reluctantly to protect the Negro until ordered to act by a higher jurisdiction.

The hearings brought to light wholesale purgings of Negroes from voting lists; defective voting machines; locked doors to a voting booth at the end of a long line of prospective Negro voters; segregated voting machines with no assurance that their votes would be counted; displays of arms; threats of violence; insults; collusion among registrars, election boards, sheriffs, and other law officers; official refusal to recognize the validity of constitutional amendments ("the Fourteenth Amendment was never adopted")—these are only some of the techniques used to keep Negro citizens "where they belong."

The Commission concluded from the evidence that there was apparently no limit to which segregationists would not go in their efforts to keep the Negro off the polling lists. For example:

¶ In Louisiana, two months after the Supreme Court's school segregation decisions, the state legislature established a joint legislative committee empowered "to provide ways and means whereby our existing social order shall be preserved and our institutions and ways of life maintained." It went into action in all parts of the state, in conjunction with a newly formed "Association of Citizens' Councils of Louisiana." Its activities culminated in the so-called "segregation law package," a combination of constitutional amendments and new statutes that even attempted to define disqualifying "bad character" as opposed to "good character." "Bad character" now includes common law marriage, historically recognized in the state; having illegitimate children; illiteracy; misdemeanors except traffic and hunting law violations. The new statutes went further. Common law marriage became a felony. Such "misdemeanors" as refusing to leave a public place when ordered, or obstructing a public passage, became "criminal mischief."

¶ In Ouachita Parish, in northern Louisiana, more than 5,000 Negroes received mailed notices that their right to be on the rolls had been challenged. They were given ten days to answer or have their names stricken. The reasons were varied and frivolous: some could not write legibly (proved by failure, for example, to put a dot on an "i"); others did not have telephones; individuals, even though resident in the community for years, were challenged to prove their identity.

Herblock in The Washington Post

"We Don't Want No Troublemakers from the United States"

¶ In succeeding elections Negroes won an apparent but transitory victory. In 1954 voting machines were provided, but the machines segregated for use by Negroes kept breaking down, entailing long waits. In 1956, the report quotes a Negro voter, "The door that the Negroes entered into the polling place was closed and locked. I stood there for three hours and fifteen minutes, not a single Negro voting, but the whites were continuing to go in and vote."

¶ In Madison Parish, no Negro has turned out to vote in more than thirty-seven years, according to the testimony of the registrar. A Negro who goes to the courthouse to register is told he had better talk to the sheriff. One Negro who tried to register and was referred to the sheriff was the Reverend William J. Neal of Tallulah. Said the sheriff: It "wasn't advisable" for Negroes to register just now; the time had not come for Negroes to vote in that parish; the Negro progresses too fast; with the vote he would have too much power.

The sheriff's last statement reveals the motive behind the Negro's drive to gain his voting rights. It also describes the fear behind the segregationists' bitter resistance; to the extremists, the fundamental democratic right of choice is "too much power." The ballot is a powerful weapon in the Negro's fight for freedom and the Southern segregationist is determined the wall will not be breached.

Yet the wall is being breached. In the last decade or so, the number of Southern Negro voters has doubled, and in some urban areas their votes are decisive. In Atlanta, for example, Negro voters recently defeated a segregationist candidate for mayor—who commanded a slight majority of white votes—by a substantial margin.

The Negro's hopes have brightened now that the Civil Rights Commission has exposed the opposition's illegal, ruthless, and often ridiculous tactics. The Justice Department has already undertaken several positive actions to stop these practices, and has given evidence of taking further steps. But more than anything else, it is the new determination of the Southern Negro to secure his rights which holds the greatest hope for success in the most crucial movement yet to develop in the South.

THE NEW KNOW-NOTHINGS

by TRISTRAM COFFIN

ONE WINTER night in 1854, a band of masked men broke into a shed within sight of the White House. They searched for what one called "that damned stone from Rome," a beautiful block of marble from the Temple of Concord, a gift from the Vatican to be used in constructing the Washington Monument. The masked men rolled the block onto a wagon and dumped it in the Potomac River.

The vandals were "Know-Nothings." They belonged to a secret order whose members were pledged to do exactly as told and to reply, "I know nothing," to all questions asked by non-members. Their theft of the Papal gift was a protest against a profound social change then stirring the nation. The waves of Catholic Irish and German immigrants brought over to dig the canals and build the railroads were gathering political power. In 1844, the "Native Americans" rioted in Philadelphia and burned two old and famous Catholic churches. They sought to have naturalized citizens banned from public office and to extend the waiting time for citizenship to twenty-one years. A decade later, the Know-Nothings had grown into a movement powerful enough to elect governors in seven states. Even a U. S. President, Millard Fillmore, at one time was a member.

The seeds of Know-Nothingism lie deep in the American soil, and periodically crises occur which stimulate the seeds to force up shoots —the Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction days, the Klan's revival in the 1920's, Coughlinites, America Firsters, McCarthyites, White Citizens Councils, and John Birchers.

Today, the United States is experiencing a new Know-Nothing eruption. In hundreds of towns, the normal quiet has been broken and with bitter charges and countercharges lifetime friendships are being destroyed. Furious and often obscene letters and telephone calls threaten teachers and ministers. Self-appointed censors pore through school texts and library books. PTA meetings are thrown into confusion. A school is bombed. Synagogues are defaced. Speakers ride up and down the Rotary Club and military seminar circuit crying out that Communists or their "dupes" run the government, the schools, and the churches. Bumper stickers, "IMPEACH EARL WARREN," are seen throughout the South and Southwest. Unprintable letters are written to African Negro diplomats. The usually calm United States Senate last summer broke into a fit of hysteria because an unemployed used car salesman and his sixteen-year-old son tried to hijack a passenger plane. The fury of these outbreaks is explained by Dr. Milton A. Dushkin writing in the AMA's *Today's Health:* "When a person feels overwhelmed by feelings of insecurity and frustrations beyond his control, he must find a scapegoat."

Yet behind the loud uproar is only a minute segment of American society. The membership of the John Birch Society is estimated at less than 50,000. One of the most widely quoted newsletters of the far right has a circulation of 16,000. A city of 25,000 in western New York was beset by constant attacks and harassment of its public schools; after a year of turmoil, the troubles were traced to exactly twelve persons. The hard core of the radical Right is made up of what California's attorney general described as "old ladies in tennis shoes," Holy Rollers, unemployed majors, retired businessmen, Kluxers, professional red-baiters, and assorted bigots. They belong to some one thousand organizations. They read tracts which, the University of Illinois Library School reports, "range all the way from the earnest, smudgily mimeographed *Voice of the Hour* put out occasionally by Captain Edward Miles of 'Rally Point, U.S.A.,' to the handsome quarterly, *Modern Age*. . . ." They tune their radios to Fulton Lewis, Jr., the Clarence Manion Forum, and Billy Hargis. They profess to be crusaders against Communism yet their chief targets are not Communists but teachers, ministers, liberals, Jews, Catholics, and Negroes.

The cry of the far right is: Declare war on Russia and her allies (the Pillion Resolution); invade Cuba; abandon the United Nations; junk the income tax, social security, and foreign aid; banish the revised Bible; blacklist teachers and ministers who discuss social problems; entrench segregation; forbid fluoridation (a Soviet plot); abandon mental health pro-

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grams; and let the generals engage in Rightist political campaigning. Each member of the Rightist groups tends to take on the others' causes: an arch-segregationist may appear before a Congressional committee to oppose a mental health plan. This interweaving was clearly illustrated at the "Congress of Freedom" last spring, convened by the Soldiers of the Cross, the American Coalition, the Committee to Impeach, and the Constitution Party. Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina delivered the featured speech. When he completed his talk, a woman arose in the audience and shouted, "I don't know why all this time is being wasted on talk. The best way to get rid of our problems is to kill all the damn niggers and Jews." Other speakers attacked fluoridation, immigration, the film *Exodus*, urban renewal, the income tax, and the Federal Reserve Act. One said, "If Eichmann is calling for witnesses, let them take the six million Jews out of New York and send their ghosts back as witnesses."

Ordinarily this kind of lunacy grinds on grimly below the surface of any society. Yet today, many Americans outside the hard core of the Right are listening, and they are disturbed. One reason is that the age of innocence for the United States is coming to an end. Today, as one foreign visitor discovered, our faith in ourselves and our destiny is shaken. Professor D. W. Brogan of Cambridge University wrote in the Manchester *Guardian* of "a steady deterioration in American self confidence and trust in the 'American way of life.' " Many Americans are bewildered by what they fear is a loss of American power, and alarmed at social changes wrought by integration, automation, and the giant size of modern government and industry. They find comfort and reassurance in the Rightist dogma that it is all the fault of a vast, hidden Communist conspiracy. "The radicalism of the Right can be expected to have great mass appeal," observed Senator J. William Fulbright. "It offers the simple solution, easily understood, scouring the devil within the body politic or, in the extreme, lashing out at the enemy."

The radical Right is financed to a considerable extent by the oil depletion allowance. A study of ultra-Right political organizations which reported their 1960 campaign contributions reveals that the largest share came from Texas oil millionaires. The late H. R. Cullen of Houston was for many years the radical Right's most generous angel. H. L. Hunt, another Texas oil man, has also given liberally. The organizations backed by the oil men reflect their benefactors' dislike of income taxes and government interest in natural resources.

The largest of the Right's blocs is the "blood redemption Christians," as the University of Illinois study calls them. Their preachers still "coo" and bellow up the rustic backways, but the old Satans—the Pope, city women, Wall Street, and Darwin—have been traded off. Today the Devil is a Communist; his eager helpers are the National Council of Churches, modern education, Freedom Riders, and whoever is in power in Washington. A favorite of the group is Billy Hargis, an Oklahoma radio evangelist who pushes a restorative product known as "Nutrio-Bio." He is head of the "Christian Crusade," which he boasts is the largest anti-Communist organization in the nation. Hargis aspires to be king-pin of the Right and this summer announced the formation of "Country Savers" to coordinate his operations. It was one of his followers who slipped into an Air Force training manual the notorious attack on the National Council of Churches and the Revised Standard Version of the Bible. Within this bloc are such organizations as the Circuit Riders, American Council of Christian Laymen, American Council of Christian Churches, and Church League of America.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

"Sometimes I Even Hate Myself"

The fundamentalists work closely with the racists; one of the tracts distributed through the 550 White Citizens Councils is "God's Answer to Segregation." (He is for it.) Senator Strom Thurmond is the best known of the ultra-rightists who entered this amalgam through the segregation door; others include John Kasper, Admiral John Crommelin, and Leander Perez. George Rockwell's American Nazis actively promote segregation with their "hate bus" tours of the South.

The professional red-hunters, who use a quasi-religious, evangelical approach, are increasingly popular on the luncheon club, business convention, and military seminar circuit. One of the leading practitioners of Americanism is not an American at all, but an Australian physician, Dr. Fred C. Schwarz. His technique on the platform is oddly reminiscent of the old time lay preacher sweating by torch light. "Christians, to arms!" cries Schwarz. "The enemy is at the gates. Buckle on the armor of the Christian and go forth to battle." The Communists, he declaims, "will come for you, as they have for others, on a dark night, in a dank cellar, and they will take a wide bore revolver with a soft nose bullet, and place it at the nape of your neck." He finds the Communists in almost complete control of the United States. An observer sent by the *Christian Century* to watch Schwarz in action at a seminar of his tax-exempt "Christian Anti-Communism Crusade" reported the dragons he slew included "liberals, modernists, John Dewey, Kirtley Mather, Harvard students, high school students, the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, textbooks, the American Friends Service Committee, pacifists, the book sections of the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune*, Elmer Davis, public libraries, beatniks, the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy and naive ministers." One of his pet lecture topics is "Why Millionaires, College

Professors, and Ministers Become Communists." Schwarz promotes an instruction program for schools, complete with manual and films.

The National Education Association in a recent bulletin carried a warning against the Schwarz program: "Boards of education," said NEA, "will do well to take a second look at the procedures of this group before cooperating with an agency that makes such broad accusations against educators and the instructional materials used in the schools today." The head of the John Birch Society, Robert Welch, is an admirer of Schwarz and has remarked that his "schools" have done "a superb job . . . of preliminary education."

The young Rightists and their national organization, Young Americans for Freedom, have all the spontaneity and idealism of a company union. They are well-financed, and in action tend to be quite brash. They engage in such activities as demonstrating in support of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and presenting awards to Herbert V. Kohler, an anti-union industrialist, and Ambassador George K. C. Yeh of Nationalist China. YAF is the brainchild of William F. Buckley, editor of *National Review;* it has an advisory board which includes Senator Barry Goldwater, Lewis Strauss, General Mark Clark, Eddie Rickenbacker, and Clarence Manion. Its success, measured by publicity, is immense; but by accomplishment, it rates low. Last summer, YAF tried to storm the National Student Association convention and the Young Republican national conclave. The Harvard *Crimson* commented, "The much heralded 'conservative challenge' to the long-liberal NSA leadership was a dismal failure." Young Republican delegates were shocked by the bully-boy tactics of YAF.

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Maybe It'll Go Away If We Put Out the Light"

The John Birch Society is the senior activist group of the ultra-Right. Welch is an organizer with an ear for the furies and fears that beset many Americans of his generation and background. He has set up Communist-type cells and keeps them busy with directives. Welch thus fills an important psychological need among the Rightists. Orators like Billy Hargis and Fred Schwarz fill the faithful with fear and hate. Welch harnesses these pent-up emotions by giving them specific tasks to perform; he urges "direct action" and the use of "dirty tactics." Welch comes out of a narrow fundamentalist background —his forebears were Southern Baptist preachers in rural North Carolina. He went to a one-room segregated country school. He has had a crush on the military since attending the U. S. Naval Academy for two years. He suffered a humiliating political defeat in Massachusetts, and now calls democracy "merely a deceptive phrase, a weapon of demagoguery, and a perpetual fraud."

Some of Welch's other extreme views—most of them in books intended only for private distribution —include: "My firm belief [is] that Dwight Eisenhower is a dedicated, conscious agent of the Communist conspiracy . . . Milton Eisenhower is actually Dwight Eisenhower's superior and boss within the Communist Party. . . . [For Eisenhower there] is only one possible word to describe his purposes and actions. That word is 'treason' . . . Dag Hammarskjold is one of the most contemptible agents of the Kremlin ever to be supported by the American taxpayers." The late John Foster Dulles and his brother, Allen, former Central Intelligence Agency chief, have been characterized as Communist agents by Welch. The Supreme Court, Congress, and Executive departments are actively promoting Communist aims.

Welch personally directs the attacks, by mail and telephone and on the platform, against schools, churches, libraries, businesses, Congress, newspapers, and magazines, or "those places where a minimum of pressure can produce maximum terror and restrictive responses," according to Professor Alan A. Westin, Columbia University. One of Welch's orders was to protest to the Boy Scouts of America because the president of the National Council of Churches addressed the national jamboree. Another directive to his followers ordered that postcards be mailed to President Eisenhower on the eve of the summit meeting, saying, "If you go, don't come back."

The divisive activities of the Birchers are illustrated by an episode in Midland, Texas. A seventeen-year-old high school senior, described by his Congressman as "a good student, active in community affairs and from a very respected and fine family," quoted *Time* magazine in a debate on the Birch Society. The high school senior wrote later to the San Angelo *Standard-Times,* "One of the students phoned her mother from school stating that I strongly attacked the Birch Society. This lady and members of the Society went to my teacher, superintendent of schools, and principal trying desperately to get me to retract, apologize, and possibly be expelled from school. I even received a telephone threat not to make that speech again."

In the same town, Birchers circulated an unsigned mimeographed sheet demanding the removal from the high school library of such books as *Andersonville, Laughing Boy, The Big Sky, Marjorie Morningstar,* and *1984.* The books were removed from the shelves for "investigation." In Tampa, Florida, Birchers demanded the dismissal of a popular young professor for "following the Communist Party line of appeasement, co-existence, and advocating the subjection of our constitutional form of government to a World Court." The professor was fired, even though no mem-

ber of the college administration attended any of his classes. In Port Angeles, Washington, anonymous telephone calls to the school board caused the contracts of three teachers to be held up, simply because they had signed a newspaper advertisement urging caution and restraint in world affairs.

One of the more significant commentaries on all this activity was the observation last spring by Moscow's *Literary Gazette* that the Rightists were doing Communism a good turn by casting suspicion on the moderates, adding, "Now the Communist movement has gained unexpectedly a new supporter. His name is Robert Welch . . ."

A good many retired military officers are active in the Birch Society or in other ultra-Right organizations. Among them are Brigadier General Bonner Fellers, onetime military secretary to General Douglas MacArthur, General A. C. Wedemeyer, and Lieutenant General George E. Stratemeyer, who are members of "For America," which demands an end to the income tax and the development of "overwhelming air power." Lieutenant General Pedro del Valle is the head of Defenders of the American Constitution. Admiral John Crommelin is a veteran segregationist who ran unsuccessfully for the Senate from Alabama.

Increasingly within the past few years, the military establishment has promoted Rightist doctrine in official seminars. Major General Edwin A. Walker was relieved of his command in Germany because, as Baltimore *Sun* columnist Thomas O'Neill reported, "The idiot attitudes of the John Birch Society were reflected in his instructions given his troops upon the nature of Communism." O'Neill reflected, "A valid criticism . . . is that the discrediting of the government and of eminent persons at home carries the danger of suggesting to troops that the real enemy is behind them, a morale-destroying force that plays into the hands of the real enemy." A public relations officer at the Port Migu Naval Mission Center attacked Governor Pat Brown of California for his criticism of the Birch Society.

Justus in The Minneapolis Star

He and His Shadow

What is equally disturbing to the President, Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara, and Senator Fulbright is that for three years the military seminars have served as a platform from which extreme Rightist propaganda has been fed to reservists and businessmen. The seminars are sponsored jointly by the military and business organizations, such as the local Chamber of Commerce. Reserve officers are given credit points for attending. The seminars might conceivably have served a useful purpose if they had adhered to the chosen subject—Communist strategies—and if qualified speakers were used. But the seminars in many cases merely opened the doors indiscriminately to the radical Right and their pet hates, including fluoridation and the National Council of Churches. President Kennedy, Harry Truman, Adlai Stevenson, and moderate Congressmen have been denounced. At a Fort Smith, Arkansas, "Strategy for Survival Conference," the local Congressman was described thus: "Your Representative has voted eighty-nine per cent of the time to aid and abet the Communist Party."

For several weeks following an appearance at the Glenview, Illinois, naval air station, Fred Schwarz was given office space at the base, where he tape-recorded a statement criticizing the Democratic candidate for Congress. It was used extensively in the 1960 election campaigns. A movie widely shown at the seminars was supervised by a Bircher; it repeats many of the old, discredited McCarthy charges. At each seminar, kits of written material are distributed. One tract included at Glenview was entitled "Background Material that Every Patriot Should Know." The folder attacked the National Council of Churches, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Education Association, COPE (labor's political action center), and Americans for Democratic Action. A leaflet given out at the Minneapolis Naval Air Station, "What I Can Do to Stop Communism," recommended joining the Birch Society or Fred Schwarz' organization, and listening to Fulton Lewis, Clarence Manion, and Billy Hargis. A kit distributed to servicemen at Pensacola recommended reading Welch's magazine, *American Opinion*.

Secretary McNamara issued orders this spring to tone down the extreme Right emphasis of the seminars, but a spot check in September revealed these orders were being ignored in some cases. Navy seminars still used unauthorized extremist films. The Army Command General Staff School at Fort Leavenworth was promoting the hard line on foreign policy at a time when the President was trying delicately to steer a middle course. The Fourth Army and San Antonio Junior Chamber of Commerce sponsored a seminar in September at which one of the speakers, General Wedemeyer (who told reporters he is an adviser to the Birch Society), accused the Kennedy Administration of "appeasement," advocated breaking relations with Russia, opposed admitting new African nations to the United Nations, and criticized the Episcopal Church. Another speaker, a fundamentalist minister, attacked liberalism in the churches and praised General Walker. In the lobby of the auditorium, the Birch Society's *Blue Book* was on sale.

Secretary McNamara has now issued clear-cut orders banning military participation in seminars that might "lend an air of sponsorship to the statements of others which may be either partisan in character or contrary to established national policy."

The immediate target of the far Right is political. At the "Congress of Freedom," General Fellers called

for an effort to capture the G.O.P. and, failing that, to start a third party. Senator Strom Thurmond said recently that both parties were too much alike, and that a third party was needed. Those in the line of the Rightists' fire in the 1962 election campaign include some Southern Democrats and such conservative Republicans as North Dakota's Senator Milton Young, who blocked a Birch scheme to get a Constitutional amendment outlawing the federal income tax through the state legislature; California's Senator Thomas Kuchel, minority whip of the Senate; and Senator Homer Capehart of Indiana. The big guns of the radical Right are trained on Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who faces a serious fight for reelection next year in Arkansas. Fulbright's opponent, possibly Representative Dale Alford, will be heavily financed and aided from outside his own state.

There are signs now that alarm is spreading, not so much on the Left as on the moderate Right. The *Pilot*, organ of the Catholic diocese of Boston, has called the Birch Society "unbalanced, excited, and definitely out of f[illegible]us," and warned, "In protecting ourselves against Communism we should be careful we do not fall into evils almost as bad." Episcopal bishops denounced those who stir a "hysterical fear of Communism." J. Edgar Hoover, in a recent report to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, issued this timely warning:

"Because Communism thrives on turmoil the [Communist] Party is continuously attempting to exploit all grievances—real or imagined—for its own tactical purposes. It is, therefore, almost inevitable that, on many issues, the party line will coincide with the position of many non-Communists. The danger of indiscriminately alleging that someone is a Communist merely because his views on a particular issue happen to parallel the official party position is obvious. The confusion which is thereby created helps the Communists by diffusing the forces of their opponents.

"Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely against Communism without being for any positive measures to eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adroit at exploiting.

"These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against Communism. However, it was what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them."

Here, from a man who managed to tolerate McCarthy, is a deadly indictment of the divisive methods and negative philosophy of the radical Right. Perhaps it will embolden liberals in Congress and out in the country to fight back—before it is too late—against the counsel of intolerance and reaction which are the staples of the new Know-Nothings.

AFRICA'S 'Haven of Peace'

by LEONARD S. KENWORTHY

Is it possible for a new nation to emerge today in Africa without the crippling wounds of regional rivalries, racial tensions, inter-tribal jealousies, and violence? That question is being asked by thoughtful people everywhere, especially the people of Tanganyika as they move rapidly toward December 9, the date set for the transformation of their United Nations Trust Territory into an independent country.

As they read their newspapers, listen to their radios, and hear the somber first-hand stories of travelers from other parts of Africa, Tanganyikans are more sharply aware of their own tribal rivalries, the demands for "autonomy" by the coastal people, and the calls from Kenya for secession by the Somalis and others. They know of the violence against the Asians in Uganda and the struggles there between the Buganda and the other tribes. They have been awakened to the riots and bloodshed in Ruandi-Urundi, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Zanzibar. And they have been following closely the anarchy and warfare in the Congo. Yet Tanganyika seems to have been spared these calamities as it moves peacefully toward independence.

There is no single explanation of why this East African territory has escaped the tensions and violence that have plagued so many other new African nations. But one can find a lengthy list of assets which help account for it.

Of first importance, there is plenty

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of room for everyone in Tanganyika, at least today. In an area six times that of England, there are only little more than nine million persons. In a few areas the population is becoming too dense for comfort, but there are large sections in the central and southern parts which can some day be settled by millions of people if the land is irrigated and improved. This will be costly, but eventually it will be necessary to absorb Tanganyika's expanding population and the Kenyans who are already beginning to flee the population pressures in that colony.

Fortunately for the prospects of internal peace, there are no substantial numbers of European landholders as there are in Kenya. There are several large sisal estates in Tanganyika owned by Greeks, Dutch, Indians, Swiss, and English, but these plantations are not now a source of conflict between blacks and whites.

Nor does Tanganyika suffer from extreme tribal rivalries and regionalism as do Ghana, Nigeria, the Congo, Uganda, and Ruanda-Urundi. It is estimated that there are 120 tribes in this vast domain, but none of them dominates the scene politically, economically, or socially as the Kikuyu do in Kenya and the Buganda in Uganda. The largest tribe in Tanganyika is the Sukuma, with nearly a million members, but it wields little political power. The most progressive tribe is the Chagga, with about 350,000 members. They live on the fertile slopes of fabled Mount Kilimanjaro and enjoy a comparatively high standard of living from the profits of their coffee cooperatives.

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(see back cover)

A common language is a potent factor in promoting inter-tribal communication and in creating a common tie in a new country, and Tanganyika is fortunate in having such a universal tongue as Swahili, the Bantu-based *lingua franca* of East Africa, popularized over the centuries by the Arab traders and spoken here by almost everyone, since almost all of the tribes are Bantu.

Another asset is the lack of animosity against non-Africans. There are about 25,000 Europeans (the term applied to all whites) in Tanganyika, but the largest single group is the British, most of whom are not permanent settlers. Moreover, few of them are the reactionary type of white settlers who have caused so much bad feeling in Kenya. There is some hostility against Asians, who are the middle-class merchants of Tanganyika, as in other parts of East Africa, but here they are not so numerous, comparatively speaking, as in neighboring nations, and they are not now considered an economic stumbling block in the path of the advancing Africans.

But it is not all chance which has brought about this relatively happy state of human relations. Much credit must go to Julius Nyerere, the powerful leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, who has worked diligently for what he calls "human harmony." Nyerere, who will become Prime Minister on independence day, has stated many times, "The struggle against colonialism must not be confused with racialism. Both the color of a man's skin and his country of origin are irrelevant to his rights and duties as a citizen."

Agriculture is the economic base of Tanganyika, but there are also some important minerals and a few small secondary industries which provide a relatively diversified economy. Sisal is the big money-making crop, furnishing two-thirds of the world's supply and bringing in about $37,000,000 annually. Next in order come cotton and coffee. Fourth on the list of Tanganyika's exports are diamonds and eighth is gold. Other important exports are oilseeds, hides and skins, cashew nuts, and meat and meat preparations.

In the past, industrial plants were confined almost entirely to the processing of raw foods and fibers. But recently light industrial factories have begun to appear, manufacturing clothing, razor blades, shoes, metal containers, and paints and varnishes. Meat and fish canning, cashew nut processing, cement manufacturing, oil refining, and the slaughtering and cold storage of meats are promising potentialities for the future.

Water is another asset in Tanganyika. Though much of the land is arid, there is water within the country which can be used for irrigation and for hydroelectric power. A team of experts from the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations recently surveyed the Rufiji River Basin and reported that it offered "great possibilities for the advantageous development of irrigated agriculture." A pilot project was started, and 500 acres are now being farmed experimentally.

The work of the Germans when they controlled Tanganyika prior to World War I and the further efforts of the British have provided this country with three railroads running inland from the coast, all connected with Tanganyika's four port cities on the Indian ocean (Tanga, Dar es Salaam, Lindi, and Mtwara) or with her port on Lake Victoria (Mwanza).

The demands upon the limited resources of a new nation can be disastrous if there is no long-range, overall plan, with at least a few carefully determined and realistic targets. Tanganyika has such a scheme, however modest, in her Three Year Development Plan (1961-1964), based in large part on a recent survey by the World Bank, which recommended that top priorities be given the development of agriculture and the livestock industry, water supplies and irrigation, communications, and secondary and technical education.

Tanganyika is fortunate, too, in the high caliber of her political leaders—Julius Nyerere in particular. Many persons consider him the outstanding African leader south of the Sahara. He is intelligent, astute, industrious, charming, moderate, and self-confident—yet modest. A former school teacher and a graduate of Makerere College in Uganda and Edinburgh

University, he has risen to top political leadership in large measure because of his oratorical power and his organizational ability. He has held out promises of progress to his people, but he has always coupled them with demands for hard work. His slogan is *Uhuru na Kazi*—Freedom with Toil.

There are some able men in Nyerere's cabinet. They include Chief Abdullah Saidi Fundikiri, Minister for Lands and Surveys, who is slated to be Governor-General after independence; O. S. Kambona, the youthful Minister for Education and Secretary-General of TANU; R. M. Kawawa, Minister without Portfolio and Nyerere's chief trouble shooter; C. G. Kahama, a former cooperative movement leader and now Minister for Home Affairs; A. Z. N. Swai, Minister for Commerce and Industry; and Sir Ernest Vasey, a behind-the-scenes power who was formerly Minister of Finance in Kenya and now holds a similar post in Tanganyika.

There are able leaders, too, in the civil service. Until recently they were almost all English, but Africans are gradually filling these posts. In June, 1960, there were 380 Africans in senior positions; in June, 1961, 616. Nyerere hopes that eventually the composition of the civil service will "broadly reflect the racial pattern of Tanganyika's population as a whole." His cabinet already reflects his hope: it includes nine Africans, two Europeans, and one Asian. A few of the former British officials are leaving now that independence is imminent, but a much greater number plan to stay. In one of his characteristically statesmanlike moves Nyerere wrote a personal letter to each of them a few months ago, urging them to stay on as advisers in the new government.

The relative stability of Tanganyika politically is in no small measure based on the existence of only one political party of any consequence—the Tanganyika African National Union. Tanganyika is not expending energy at this crucial point in a suicidal fight for power among several parties. In turn, some of the stability of TANU can be explained by the presence in Tanganyika of a powerful cooperative movement. Aside from its economic importance, this movement has served as the backbone of the political organization of the country,

Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

King of the Beasts

with Nyerere using it as the base for his party in much the same way that Tom Mboya has utilized the trade union movement in Kenya to build KANU, the Kenya African National Union.

While other parts of Africa are struggling to achieve federation, this part of the continent has already had fourteen years of inter-territorial cooperation in the East Africa High Commission. Established by the British in a far-sighted move, the High Commission has handled a variety of common services for the 20,000,000 people of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, such as postal services and telecommunications, customs and excise taxes, income taxes, railways and harbors, and statistics and research. It has also prepared and printed books and pamphlets, fought the deadly locust plague, combatted leprosy, and carried on a score of other useful services.

Tanganyika and Kenya are enthusiastic supporters of an East African Federation, and as this was being written Julius Nyerere was in Kenya conferring with Jomo Kenyatta on furthering their joint effort to promote the unity of the entire East Africa area. Uganda is less enthusiastic about federation but will probably join. Mauritius has indicated interest and Zanzibar will undoubtedly cooperate. There is also some hope that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland as well as Ruanda-Urundi will eventually become a part of this larger East African economic and political unit.

Such a federation is possible because Tanganyika is blessed with friendly neighbors on all sides. Moreover, Nyerere is cultivating those other countries which might eventually join in an East African Federation, and he is championing the cause of African nationalism in general. Already Tanganyika is serving as a haven for political exiles from such places as Northern Rhodesia, the Republic of South Africa, South West Africa, Nyasaland, and Mozambique.

Tanganyika also enjoys, at least for the moment, the confidence of several countries in her economic future. Because of her poverty, Tanganyika needs outside help in the form of capital. Her greatest current need is money to finance the Three Year Development Plan, which will cost about $24,000,000. She is counting on large sums from several British and Commonwealth sources, the West German government, the United States government and U.S. private foundations, and from various United Nations funds, as well as on some support from her own country and from other parts of Africa. It appears that all the funds needed will be available. Some will consist of direct grants, others will be loans.

Switzerland, Sweden, and Israel are all helping this infant nation to get on its feet. The United States has started an ambitious program to aid in establishing farm institutes, an agricultural college, and a land use training center. It has supplied seventy teachers for secondary schools and expects to help found a teacher training center and institute of research. It has also assisted in the building of a major highway, and members of the Peace Corps are now helping with an important road survey.

To all his benefactors Nyerere has made clear: "We do not want our need for assistance to be exploited by involving us in the quarrels of power politics. We do not want to mortgage our freedom; we have no intention of exchanging our birthright for a piece of bread."

Even though it is the peaceful place implied in the name of its capital, Dar es Salaam, "Haven of Peace," Tanganyika has many liabilities as well as the assets I have been discussing. High on the list of weaknesses are the inferior nature of much of the land, the lack of irrigation, and the poor agricultural methods used by most farmers. At least a third of the land is arid and two-thirds of it infested by the tsetse fly. Progress has been made in recent years in overcoming these dreaded flies but it is a slow and costly operation. Irrigation is possible but this, too, is expensive, long-term, and requires technically trained personnel. The cost of developing the Rufiji Basin, for example, is estimated at $250 per acre, a formidable price. Even when such land is opened, the farmers must be taught to carry out the exacting demands of irrigated farming.

Furthermore, Tanganyika farmers of the future will be competing with those of other nations for the limited markets of the world, and the quality of their products will have to be improved to meet the competition. They may also be forced to develop new crops, such as tea, tobacco, and cocoa, for the world coffee market is already glutted and other nations are beginning to cut in on Tanganyika's sisal output.

Because of her inferior land, ancient agricultural methods, and other factors, the people of this country are abysmally poor. The annual per capita income is only about $50—the lowest of three major parts of East Africa. The inevitable result is that large numbers of Tanganyikans are ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed, illiterate, and ill. A two-year drought in some areas has brought still more disease, suffering—and famine.

Something to crow about—

The Progressive for Christmas

(see back cover)

Poverty of this magnitude means that Tanganyika is dependent on other countries for the capital with which to build roads, bridges, irrigation, hydroelectric plants, factories, schools, clinics, hospitals, and all the other essentials for Twentieth Century living. While the initial Three Year Plan seems certain of adequate financing, Tanganyika must compete in the years to come with many other new nations for risk capital in the battle to meet the demands of the worldwide revolution.

Tanganyika is also handicapped educationally. Not quite half of her children even get to school, and of them many drop out. Only one child in eight gets more than four years of education and few complete twelve years of schooling. In 1959, for example, there were only 300 boys and girls in the entire country who were graduated from their equivalent of American high schools, and in 1960 only 480. The number of men and women with a college or technical education is infinitesimal.

In the past almost all of the key jobs in government, industry, and the professions were manned by Europeans, and jobs such as bank and post-office clerks and shopkeepers were held by Asians. A hurried attempt is now being made to train Africans for hundreds of these positions, but for the most part it is a belated effort. Tanganyika will therefore achieve independence without the skilled manpower or the backlog of experience so necessary to the maintenance of high standards in all fields.

The status of health is sad indeed. Large numbers of people suffer from malaria, tuberculosis, bilharzia, typhoid and other water-borne diseases, smallpox, diphtheria, sleeping sickness, or venereal diseases. Widespread malnutrition greatly magnifies the health problem. The shortage of doctors is appalling. There are a mere 312 doctors, only twenty-five of whom are African, in the entire country.

Tanganyika is woefully deficient in the fields of transportation and communications. There are some good ports and the beginning of a country-wide system of railroads, but her roads are scant and poor. Most of them are dirt, and therefore dangerously slippery when wet, and dusty when dry. The vastness of the country and the scattered populace serve to heighten the problem.

While the existence of only one major party has its advantages, there are disadvantages, too. Where there is no organized opposition, there is always the danger of eventual dictatorship or at least the lack of a healthy challenge to the policies of those in power. Such an opposition will almost certainly arise soon, but it does not now exist.

Every country is haunted by corruption and new nations tend to suffer even more than others from this blight. For people who have never had much in material goods, the fresh temptations of money and power are almost irresistible. This is especially true where old values have been eroded and new ones have not been firmly established. Julius Nyerere underlined this liability recently when he listed corruption as an enemy to be attacked with the same force as poverty, disease, and ignorance.

Complacency is another enemy of the people, especially in race relations. The future Prime Minister has spoken strongly on this issue, warning his people not to be lulled into a false sense of security, which would slacken their efforts to promote better understanding among all groups.

There is not the widespread uncertainty, the tensions, and the fears for the future in Tanganyika that the visitor finds in Kenya, but still there are Asians and Europeans who cannot help but wonder about their fate. Will today's standards in sanitation and in integrity in trade and government be relaxed? Will hostility against them suddenly erupt from some unexpected quarter? Will their jobs or businesses be threatened or high taxes drive them elsewhere? Will their lives be endangered? While these questions do not prey heavily upon their minds, most non-Africans in Tanganyika cannot escape at least an occasional concern for their status in an African-dominated society.

Despite these liabilities, Tanganyika today is a promising new nation. It is poor but peaceful—at the moment the silver lining on the East African cloud. It is better prepared than most new nations for *Uhuru*, aware that it is to be *Uhuru na Kazi*, Freedom with Toil.

The President and Congress

by SIDNEY HYMAN

WITH THE convening of the next Congressional session only a month away, John F. Kennedy is about to be tested for the second time in his Presidential role as the nation's First Legislator. It seems timely, therefore, to consider three interrelated questions which may foreshadow the nature of the President's relations with the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress.

¶ How did Mr. Kennedy carry himself in this role during the first session of the current Congress?

¶ What stylistic aspects of his bearing as First Legislator will probably remain unchanged in the next session?

¶ If changes are in the offing, what are they likely to be?

Even under "normal" conditions, an objective summing up of a President's legislative performance at the close of a Congressional session is made difficult by the partisan hyperboles that ritualistically mark the moment and obscure realities. On the one hand, the President and his legislative leaders traditionally insist—and this Administration is no exception—that what happened in the months preceding adjournment added up to the most creative Congressional session within memory, as proved by the volume of legislation enacted.

Opposition legislative leaders, on the other hand, traditionally insist that the Congressional session just ended was a monument to the incompetence of the President and proved —if proof were still needed—that he and his party are unfit to govern the nation. Indeed, say the opposition leaders, were it not for their own spirited resistance, the Administration would have had an even freer hand to rob honest citizens of everything they cherished.

These were the traditional judgments heard early in September, immediately after Congress had adjourned until January. But this year the normal air of confusion they brought to the hour was compounded by two abnormal developments that commanded attention at the same time.

First, the Berlin crisis was then at a blazing intensity, and in the garish light of the crisis, Congress and the President somehow seemed to suggest that the two lived in wholly separate worlds.

A second development of that time, unrelated to the first and not nearly so dramatic, also served to sever any sense of a joint Presidential-Congressional performance in the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress. But whereas the Berlin crisis made the Presidential preformance appear to be all that mattered, the impact of the second event led to a brief refocusing of troubled attention on Congress itself: There seemed to be an open breach between the Senate and the House as coordinate Congressional institutions.

In the earlier days of the session, Senators of both parties protested the fate of Senate-approved measures in the House. Some of these measures were rudely shot down by the House committees. Some were saddled with restrictive or destructive amendments by the House. Some were pummeled in conference committees, where House appointees frequently insisted that Senate appointees accept the House version of the measure at issue. Yet the protests Senators leveled against the House initially caused little alarm. The complaints seemed merely to echo the old border clashes between the two chambers that frequently flare up but are soon brought under control.

However, as Congress moved into its home-stretch drive—during which the bulk of all legislation to be enacted takes its final form at behind-the scenes meetings of House and Senate leaders—a wholly new note of rancor was detected rising from the Senate in its barbs against the House. For at this crucial time, a number of key House leaders simply abandoned Washington and returned home. With the disciplining hand of the leadership removed, the House charged through the final days of the session like a stampeding herd, unmindful of what it knocked down and trampled. Aghast at the spectacle, and feeling themselves powerless to check the stampede, angry Senators could vent their frustration only by loudly denouncing the irresponsibility of the House, thus briefly riveting attention on what appeared to be an irrevocable breach between the two Congressional chambers.

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It is only at this late date that the air seems sufficiently settled to see clearly what actually happened in the recent session of Congress, and to make an assessment of how President Kennedy bore himself in his initial attempt at the role of First Legislator.

There were several pre-conditions —each tying-in with the other— which President-elect Kennedy faced in the interval between his election and inauguration; and, with these pre-conditions in mind, the decisions he made during that period go far to explain his emphasis in the ensuing months of Presidential-Congressional relations.

In the course of his long and exhausting drive for the Presidency, candidate Kennedy repeatedly spoke of the need to "get America moving

again." New movements initiated in the broad reaches of America's internal life, he implied, would create energies that would lead inevitably to new movements in the broad reaches of America's external affairs. Yet the demands of Mr. Kennedy's campaign left him little opportunity to put together a sweeping legislative program that could in reality "make America move again" in its internal life. Nor did the nation—as in 1933—appear to be in a mood for a reform on the home front. There was a recession, and it was rather severe. But the economic blight was regionally spotty rather than nationwide in its sweep, and Mr. Kennedy concluded that the American people as a whole would not at that moment respond affirmatively to a bold experimenter in the Presidency.

The decision in favor of a go-slow policy was reinforced by other considerations. Mr. Kennedy was acutely aware that he had won the Presidency by only a hair, and that a great many Congressional Democrats ran well ahead of him in the 1960 elections. A number of the most liberal Democratic Representatives had been defeated, and their loss was commonly attributed, correctly or not, to Mr. Kennedy's position at the head of the ticket. The President-elect knew well that he was himself on trial in the public mind because of his youth, his Catholicism, and his alleged "lack of executive experience." His problem, as he then saw it as President-elect, was to win a post-election "ratification" of his entry into the Presidency by extending the hand of friendship to his adversaries in the Republican Party, by courtesies shown the political heroes of the South, and by appointing qualified Republicans, independents, and pre-convention anti-Kennedy Democrats to some of the highest posts in his Administration.

All this had its intended effect, so that when Inauguration Day arrived, it was clear President-elect Kennedy had won for himself a post-election victory of impressive size. But his naturally exuberant response was tempered by an underlying wariness, as revealed in his admonishment of an intimate who congratulated him at a time when a chorus of praise was rising from all sides. "Wait," said Mr. Kennedy, "I haven't done anything yet." To other intimates, he expressed the view that the numerous crises in the international arena would repeatedly tax the nation's trust in his leadership, and that he would have to be careful about how often he "went to the bank" to draw on the post-election good will he had accumulated.

There was, in addition, the inheritance of President Eisenhower's eight-year-long sermon on the moral imperatives of balancing the budget and defending the dollar. Moreover, there were Richard Nixon's charges in the Presidential campaign that Mr. Kennedy was "fiscally irresponsible"; that, as a personally wealthy man, he had no appreciation of what taxes meant to ordinary people; and that he had even less appreciation of how an unbalanced budget unleashed "inflationary forces" which bore heavily on those who lived on pensions and fixed incomes. These charges visibly drew blood from candidate Kennedy, and in the post-election days he defined one of his major political tasks in terms of the need to appear "fiscally responsible"—a need that seemed all the more imperative because the rapid outflow of gold then underway appeared to have some connection with currently prevailing conditions in American public finance.

When all these pre-conditions were assessed, there still remained the problem of putting together a legislative program that fitted in with them. The solution lay in what had come to be known as "the Kennedy program"—the program that got nowhere in the resumed session of Congress held the preceding August, immediately after the nominating conventions. It was reasoned that this program could now get somewhere, for instead of a President Eisenhower poised to veto it, all the powers of the Presidency would be at Mr. Kennedy's disposal to drive the program through Congress.

The program had the virtue of being known to Congress, known to himself, and known to the members of his personal staff, many of whom had worked on features of it during President Kennedy's days in the Senate. It was modest, non-revolutionary, yet it conveyed a sense of new direction and quickening motion. It dealt mainly with domestic affairs, and while its enactment would cost a few billions more than the 1961-62 Eisenhower budget called for, the costs were far lower than the added $10 billion which Republican sources in the 1960 campaign had estimated. Through the force of contrast, it could therefore pass muster as a "fiscally responsible" program.

From the standpoint of domestic legislation, the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress can be viewed as a "second run" of the Kennedy program that failed in the resumed session of 1960. But this time around, with the exception of the aid to education measure and medical care for the aged, and with some important refinements of detail, the program was enacted substantially as it was formulated before Mr. Kennedy entered the White House. It may not be fair to single out one detail as representative of the domestic side of the program. Yet the detail—the area redevelopment bill—has something to say about the distance that must still be traveled before a major domestic problem is brought merely within view of a solution on the far horizon: It is estimated that the funds the measure provides for retraining the "hard-core" unemployed can reach little more than 10,000 men, while there are hundreds of thousands of men who need to be taught new employable skills.

Overshadowing the entire scope of the domestic legislative program is the fear that though the country as a whole may come out of the recession, states like Michigan and Pennsylvania may be left with basic unemployment of ten per cent of the total labor force. In Michigan right now, union men who are out of work are sardonically repeating in their union meetings the texts of speeches candidate Kennedy gave before their factory gates—now closed—when he was running for the Presidency. A mood of this kind is not going to make it any easier for Michigan Congressmen to vote in the next session for a renewal of reciprocal trade agreements or for foreign aid appropriations;

"the folks back home" are insisting that "charity begins at home."

Yet while Mr. Kennedy expressed his sympathy with a remedy in the form of a comprehensive public works program proposed by Senator Joseph Clark of Pennsylvania, he is reported to have felt, for political or fiscal reasons, that the deficits of such a program were unsupportable when added to the deficits of the stepped-up defense program. He is also reported to be placing his hope—provisionally at least—in the theory that the new expenditures for defense will work their way into the bloodstream of the economy and bring jobs to the hard-core unemployed.

The President's defense plans constitute the one aspect of his program he has had little difficulty extending beyond his original proposals to Congress. Under the spur of the Berlin crisis, Congress almost by acclamation has given him all he has asked for. Under the less idealistic spur of vested Congressional interests in certain aircraft industries, it has even given him more than he asked for, and more than the Defense Department wants to spend. More noteworthy still is the way Congress, without a murmur of protest, has backed Commander-in-Chief Kennedy's call-up of military manpower—an action that was thought to spell sudden political death in the Eisenhower Administration.

President Kennedy's methods in seeking to get his way during the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress included all the old reliable devices. There were the White House breakfast and luncheon meetings with legislative leaders of both parties, plus an occasional late afternoon or evening soiree with selected individuals. There were the courtesies of calling in Congressional committee chairmen and ranking members for discussions of legislation while the bills were still being drafted. There were the personal Presidential telephone calls to wavering legislators at voting time. There was the stick-and-carrot tactic represented in the power to punish or reward in the distribution of patronage.

Several aspects of all this deserve special notice.

For one thing, as a recent study by the *Congressional Quarterly* revealed, the "conservative coalition" of Republicans and Southern Democrats was more active but less successful in the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress than at any time in the past five years. The coalition cost President Kennedy some victories—most notably in the matter of his aid to education bill (where a factor contributing to its defeat was the constant switching of White House signals)—but the President won more often than he lost when he decided to challenge the conservatives.

Equally striking was the President's seeming reluctance to sharpen the partisan edge of political issues, at least in public. Reputedly, he felt that the international crisis demanded "national unity," and, in any case, he felt he could not risk the loss of support he might need in the most crucial matters of state by seeking to make partisan political capital out of what he conceived to be secondary issues.

Democratic Party professionals in Washington are not inclined to dispute openly the President's judgment on how he should use his personal influence. But they wonder why the natural gifts which a man like Senator Hubert Humphrey possesses for illuminating the partisan aspects of legislative issues were not used more fully, and with the President's active encouragement. It seemed unnatural for Senator Humphrey to come out of a legislative leaders' meeting in the White House and remain under wraps—in contrast to the partisan volubility shown by Senator Everett Dirksen and Representative Charles Halleck when they emerged from similar meetings with President Eisenhower.

Yet another distinctive development bearing on the relations of the President with Congress was the extent to which the National Democratic Committee shed its character as an "issue-oriented" committee, a character which it had acquired in the years when the Democrats were out of the White House. It was to be expected that when a Democratic President was re-installed in the White House as the fountainhead of party policy, the Democratic Advisory Council to the National Committee could not very well continue in the same business. Yet there were many subordinate devices that could well have continued to muster support for Presidential policies which were also scrapped.

In any case, Democratic National Committee Chairman John Bailey has steered the Committee into the traditional channels of fund raising and acting as clearing house and broker for the distribution of Presidential patronage. From time to time, the President calls on Bailey to do a little arm twisting when the deed promises to win over a balky Congressman. Yet Bailey's usefulness in such matters seems limited to the Democratic Congressmen from his native Connecticut or from those few other places where there are remnants of the old-style machines run by bosses who are themselves not office-holders—the machines of Governor David Lawrence of Pennsylvania and Senator Harry E. Byrd of Virginia being among the few exceptions east of the Mississippi.

West of the Mississippi, Chairman Bailey has discovered to his dismay that the "boss" of the "machine" is himself an office-holder—a Senator or a Representative—who cannot be swayed by appeals to his "loyalty." Instead, he demands a *quid pro quo* in return for any special Presidential request that might imperil the office-holding boss' chances for reelection. For the same reason, the vital point of contact between the White House and these combination boss-office-holders in Congress is White House Special Assistant for Congressional Relations, Lawrence O'Brien. It is O'Brien who carries in his right hand the request of support for a Presidential measure, and in his left the *quid pro quo* designed to win that support

Cut it out!
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for Christmas

(see back cover)

if there are risks the Senator or Representative might have to run with his constituents.

It seems likely that the greater share of the President's approach as the nation's First Legislator will carry over into the second session of the Eighty-seventh Congress. If the text of his October 26 statement to Cabinet officers and agency heads on the budget outlook for 1962 and 1963 is a fair sign of which way the wind is blowing, he seems disposed to follow the line of "fiscal responsibility" by holding back on any major innovations in domestic policy, while giving free rein to what he regards as the requirements of national security.

Differences in the President's methods evidenced in the first session of the Eighty-seventh Congress may show up in the second session. The forthcoming Congressional elections will have a tendency, as they have in the past, to tighten party lines and to weaken the power of the conservative coalition of Republicans and Southern Democrats. This should ease the President's problem of winning his own party members to the support of his program.

However, a continuing international crisis will make it all the more difficult for President Kennedy to earmark large segments of time for the personal attention so necessary to winning over the marginal votes in Congress. His cause in Congress will then tend to be entrusted all the more to men like O'Brien or to politically oriented Cabinet officers like Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg, and Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall. The distinguished academicians now on the White House staff, although all life-long students of politics, hold little promise of being much help to Mr. Kennedy in the role of pro-consuls where Congress is concerned. The hard-bitten politicians who dominate Congress have little liking for intellectuals and even less admiration for their progressive outlook. If President Kennedy emphasizes accommodation with Congress in the next session, as he did in the last, the role of the White House egg-heads on the legislative front will be no greater next year than it has been this year.

reflections on an Old Frontier

by KARL E. MEYER

"In a dogged attempt to escape both Washington and politics," says the author, "my wife and I took a month's vacation in Europe, touring Britain, France, and Spain. As these notes suggest, we didn't quite elude politics, but Washington became blessedly remote; the jottings might be entitled Reflections of a Temporary Exile from the New Frontier." Mr. Meyer, an editorial writer for the Washington Post, *writes frequently for* The Progressive. *He is the author of* The New America, *published earlier this year by Basic Books.*—THE EDITORS.

As soon as the wheels of our jet touched the ground in London, we were struck by a certain perversity of the British. The airport is one of the vilest I have encountered—ugly, sprawling, and thrown together with an inspired disdain for the traveler. The weather (inevitably) was wet, and so were the passengers as they scurried to the drafty bus which took us to the terminal, where we found that the jet age has not staled the infinite inefficiency of British customs.

Yet, once in London, we marveled anew at the superb organization of municipal services. The taxis may be homely and chunky, but they zip through the city like skeeters on oil-slick; the omnibuses are so well marked and routed that a stranger can grope his way around after two days; and the Underground makes the New York subway look like an artifact of mesolithic times.

How unlike America, where we excel at airports but have yet to find a way to penetrate midtown traffic or to take the agony out of a trip from Brooklyn to the Bronx. Despite imperial distractions, the British have far outstripped us in the art of managing local affairs; in mastering a continent, we Americans have floundered in the simpler task of keeping our cities livable, likable, navigable.

An amendment to the above: One form of urban scrofula can be detected in London. The familiar chug of the bulldozer is heard as picturesque byways are cleared to make way for slab-sided office buildings. Around St. Paul's on Fleet Street, and on Park Lane, these aseptic monoliths are beginning to cleave the British sky. Nothing seems safe from the onrush. We visited a friend who works for *The Times* and he was suitably ensconced in an office which looked as if it had been built in the days of William the Conqueror.

"Have you seen our new building?" he chirped (if *Times* editorial writers can be said to chirp). "Look over here." Rising right up from Printing House Square was the framework of a slab done in the approved esperanto style of international architecture. Even the revered Thunderer, the semi-official voice of Her Majesty's Government, will henceforth rumble from a sanitized spire, no doubt with

Muzac piping in *God Save the Queen*. It gives one pause.

But the most readily apparent change to the visitor who has not been in London for a decade are the girls, or rather, *les girls*. The transformation is altogether astonishing. The women in Britain, one must conclude, have joined the Common Market long before the politicians. Once the dowdiest female specimens in the West, they are now as distracting as French perfume, as alive with color as an aviary. "The British woman," a sober colleague on *The Economist* intones, "has discovered that she has *hair*. It used to be a dank and dubious appendage, but today there is all the delighted shock of original encounter."

Whatever the cause, it is an agreeable revelation to stroll on Regent Street as the British working girl departs from her office, balancing a beehive hairdo with an aplomb that would swerve eyes on Fifth Avenue or the *Champs Elysees*. When and if that tunnel under the British Channel is completed, this final act of union will only seal the victory already won in the powder-room.

Besides *les girls*, a Washington visitor finds another immediate surprise in Britain: Berlin and fallout shelters are not the dominant political topics. The chief concern this fall is the Common Market. It is a vast relief to leave a capital beset with fears of Armageddon and arrive in a country where there is so little expectation of a nuclear war. Certainly the British are concerned, but they are looking beyond the perturbations of the moment to debate the island's destiny within the Common Market. The talk about shelters in the United States baffles and alarms the British; past crises have tempered the country's nerves. What makes the calm especially impressive is the matter-of-fact way Britons remark, "Of course, if there is a war this island will be vaporized in half an hour." Somehow this stoicism chills the blood less than the every-man-for-himself-and-the-devil-take-the-shelterless mania now being promoted here at home.

In other respects, the visitor feels right at home. We attended a meeting of the Fabian Society at which Labor's new domestic program was presented by R.H.S. Crossman, chairman of the Party. The audience was younger than we expected; only a handful of weathered patriarchs looked as if they had been around to twit Bernard Shaw. Equally contemporary was a central theme of the Labor program which contrasted "starved community services and extravagant consumption, summed up by a famous American in the phrase 'private affluence and public squalor.'" This ideological lend-lease is satisfyingly just; in years past American liberals have borrowed heavily from the British economist, Lord Keynes, and the debt is now being squared with the export of Kenneth Galbraitn and his Affluent Society.

The only attempt I made to seek an interview was with Bertrand Russell, who seems as enduring and impressive a part of the British landscape as Trafalgar Square. We reached the Earl in his remote home in Wales and had a frustratingly brief telephone conversation. Lord Russell, who, as one friend put it, speaks through the telephone with a trace of Victorian distrust for the instrument, explained that the press of legal business ruled out time for an interview. He was about to appear before the court for menacing the public order by protesting too strenuously against nuclear bombs. He noted, quite accurately, that he would probably be sent to prison. We said we would be privileged to see him there.

"Oh," he added drily, "I am afraid Her Majesty's Government would not approve of *that*."

All this was stuff for reflection as we left Britain on the Golden Arrow, the luxury train which glides from London to Paris, with a choppy Channel ride in between. Our fellow passengers were British, of respectable middle-class background, a couple who for some reason had made a hobby of collecting Cockney rhyming slang. A Cockney, we were reminded, is defined as a person born within hearing of the bells of Bow Church in London's East End. One mark of an authentic Cockney is his mastery of slang which involves a rhyming phrase to describe an otherwise unrelated thing or person, e.g., "trouble and strife" is the code for wife; "pot and pan" is old man or husband; and "dicky dirt" is a shirt.

The slang for "hat," our informants explained, was originally "tit for tat," but over the years had become abbreviated into the cryptic "titfer." It was sad to learn that rhyming slang is fading away; one hopes there is a real-life Professor Higgins to collect it. Other British traits seem more immune to change. As we were bidding farewell, the husband confided, "You know, if you were English, we would have sat through the whole bloody ride without exchanging a word—just like a pair of sticks!"

In Paris, less restrictive traditions prevail. Republics may come and go, but Paris seems to retain its luminous liberating magic. One strolls down streets named for Victor Hugo, Montaigne, and Stendahl, and it is impossible for anyone who cares about freedom not to feel braced and fortified by the questing spirit of France. On *Quai Voltaire*, we passed a hotel bearing a sign which informed the world that Charles Baudelaire, Oscar Wilde, and Richard Wagner had once honored the dwelling with their presence. In London, we chanced to stay at the Cadogan Hotel, which sits like a well-preserved Victorian matron on Sloane Street. It happened that this was the hotel where Oscar Wilde was arrested for indulging his wayward tastes. Ask the hotel help about the famous episode and you are greeted with shocked professions of ignorance. In Paris, a gilded plaque would have immortalized the scandal—but then, in Paris they would never have arrested Oscar Wilde.

Yet appearances can deceive. For all the surface buoyancy in the cafes around *Saint Germain des Pres*, there is a sickly and depressing mood in France. The froth conceals a bitter brew. Bombings by terrorists are so frequent that they are recorded on the inside pages of the press; walls are

You're sitting pretty when you give The Progressive for Christmas

(see back cover)

scarred with the ugly slogans of the ultras; a sense of impending calamity lends an edge to political conversations. You soon learn that the army is assumed disloyal until proven otherwise and that General de Gaulle has let his popularity dwindle to an ominous low.

The day we arrived, the President was nearly assassinated by a bomb planted on the roadside; fortunately, it misfired as de Gaulle's car sped by. Momentarily, there was a rush of emotion, but the fervor for de Gaulle seemed to vanish in hours when it became apparent that nothing really had changed. The Parisians, a visitor senses, are weary of a remote god who appears unwilling or unable to use his prestige to stamp out mutiny in the army and bring an end to the Algerian war. Yet, runs the lament, what is the alternative?

In *L'Express*, the weekly associated with Pierre Mendes-France, there is talk of an impending civil war. But others see some glimmer of hope in the fact that no civil war has yet occurred. Michel Gordey, the astute diplomatic correspondent of *France-Soir*, remarks that for all the talk about violence no one seems really willing to risk his own skin. The one thing that seems to unite this grievously divided country, M. Gordey contends, is the desire to avert a bloodbath. One hopes that he is right.

The French countryside glows in September, and a drive through the Loire Valley to the Dordogne is like riding through (to borrow a phrase from Malraux) a museum without walls. Impressionist paintings leap from the canvas and Gothic tapestries acquire the solidity of stone in the form of castles and cathedrals. All this has, I suppose, been said *ad tedium*, and everyone has a neighbor with a projector and the inevitable batch of color slides.

But Kodachrome cannot convey the pleasures of exploring the side roads that thread through medieval towns —nor, let it be added, can the camera recreate the pleasures of exploring the *Guide Michelin*. This estimable volume, published by a tire company, lists the restaurants and hotels of France, grading them with exquisite care as to quality of cuisine and service. To an American accustomed to the indifferent pablum of Howard Johnson, the French roadside affords an endless and unbelievable feast. There is scarcely a village that does not have a better restaurant than can be found in the best districts of our bigger cities—and ours is the affluent society!

To pursue the familiar, the typical refrain among tourists is to complain about the lamentable state of French plumbing. Manifestly, the mysteries of plumbing have baffled the French genius; it is one area where forty million Frenchmen are invariably wrong. But it is a matter of emphasis. We place the stress on one end of the digestive system; the French on the other. Who is to say that our preoccupation is the mark of a higher civilization?

On to the Dordogne. Here, to sate an amateur's thirst for archaeological knowledge, we delved into the caves where prehistoric man left an enduring imprint. The murals of Lascaux are widely celebrated, but no less enthralling are the simpler caves—the parish churches to the Lascuax cathedral. The grottoes of Combarelles, Font-de-Gaume, and Rouffignac contain an extraordinary menagerie of fabulous beasts, some engraved and some sketched in sooty black. Part of the pleasure of exploring the sites is the absence of commercialism. In most cases, you apply at a farmhouse for a guide who, like as not, comes straight from the field to lead you through a labyrinth below your feet.

In the brief sixty years since the authenticity of cave art was established, a respect for our "primitive" ancestors has notably increased. He came, he hunted, and he left behind paintings worthy of a master. Now that man has come full circle and is again pondering a descent into the caves, one muses about the verdict of future archaeologists. If worst comes to worst, and a blaze of bombs levels our cities, what will future diggers find? A clutter of beer cans, a few corpses, a transistor radio—and a shotgun intended to keep the neighbors out?

But it is impossible to remain in so bleak a mood in traveling through Southern France into Spain by way of the *Costa Brava*. You are instantly aware of crossing the border because the fine French roads give way to the *ersatz* Spanish brand. The vistas on the rugged *Costa Brava* are as captivating as the roads are bad—so bad that it seems likely that the ruts left by Roman chariots still remain unrepaired. When we arrived in Barcelona, we were told that the execrable roads in Catalonia were part of Franco's punishment for the Catalan's love of liberty.

This may be gossip. There is no doubt, however, that the Franco dictatorship has been unable to stifle the desire for liberty in this most rebellious province of Spain. The *Caudillo* has come upon a shrewd solution. While organized political activity is forbidden, the regime in Madrid shows a grudging tolerance to spoken dissent. It is possible to grumble in the cafes about how dreadful conditions are. And there is plenty to grumble about.

In Barcelona, traditionally the most prosperous city of Spain, wages are so low that the industrious Catalans customarily take two jobs. Since business hours are eccentric, this means that a head-of-family may work from nine until one, return home for a siesta until four and finish his first job at seven p.m. Then, after snatching a few mouthfuls, he may work from 7:30 p.m. to midnight on a second job. For a leader who has drained so much economic aid from the United States, Generalissimo Franco has shown an exceptional talent for keeping his country poor and the mass of his people in poverty. Surely one reason that the roads in Spain are so bad is that there are so few cars to use them.

The Spanish press, at least what we saw of it in Barcelona, ranks with the most supinely mediocre in the world. It is less a press than a company house organ for the ruling elite; the lead story, invariably, seems to chronicle a ceremonial appearance by the *Caudillo* at a dam or school dedication. Curiously, the papers we saw never mentioned Franco by name. In the headline, he was "His Excellency, the

"Me worry? I give The Progressive for Christmas"

(see back cover)

Chief of State"; in the body of the story, he was simply *El Jefe*—"the Chief." Like a god, his name apparently cannot be committed to the profanity of print.

Fairness compels one qualification. In Barcelona, it is possible to buy the New York *Times* and *Herald Tribune* and the better British papers. But, we were told, whenever any of the foreign papers publishes a story deemed unflattering to Franco, the offending issue is mysteriously absent from the kiosk.

After the reserve of the British and the prudent calculation of the French, Spanish exuberance makes an especially vivid impression on a visitor. An assertive independence is the mark of the Spaniard; after a few days in Spain it was possible to guess why Franco could not seal his countrymen's lips. Out of deference to the memory of Hemingway, we attended a bullfight in Barcelona in which the fabled Ordonez appeared. The crowd let nothing escape its comment, and when one bull appeared wanting in virility there was a good deal of hooting. A particularly shrill heckler behind us accused Ordonez of performing a "cha-cha-cha" with the timorous beast. Ordonez, obviously nettled, became reckless and the bull unexpectedly threw the matador and began to gore him. The crowd then turned on the heckler, and if Ordonez had perished one felt that a certain loud-voiced *aficionado* would have been lynched on the spot. But the wounded Ordonez came back to kill his bull and was awarded a hoof and horn.

We were reminded of the saying that one half of Spain would never be really happy until the other half was dead. The Spaniard's nobility of spirit has its darker side, yet a visitor becomes so instantly fond of Spain that he cannot feel that the country deserves the wretched government now saddled upon it.

Returning to Paris, we stayed the night in the ancient walled town of St. Flour in the Auvergne. The oddest sight was to see television aerials in the shadow of the crenelated medieval wall. At our hotel, a television set was planted in the lobby and in the evening townspeople gathered to be edified by Laurel and Hardy and Marlon Brando in vintage films dubbed with French. As a community, St. Flour seems to retain something of its feudal flavor despite the thousand pressures of the modern world. But will it be able to resist television? Gunpowder brought an end to feudalism as an economic system by enabling the king's army to level the walls of stubborn nobles. We wondered as we watched in the hotel lobby whether Laurel and Hardy and Brando would not erase the lingering cultural remnants of feudalism just as effectively as the cannonball reduced the political walls. Yet, looking at the leathery faces of the French farmers who were trying to decipher Marlon Brando's mumbles, there was a reassuring sense that it would be a long time before the little black box would work its effect on the ancient regions of France.

Back on the plane, heading home, we returned with the heartening feeling that Europe, by wisely borrowing from the United States, is finding regenerative strength through a federal framework. Assuming that the French find some way out of their present impasse, the prospects seem exhilarating for the new grouping that is taking form. There is a buoyancy that transcends politics, an essential optimism even in the face of the crises in France and Berlin. There is a good deal of sap on the Old Frontier. One returns with a renewed sense of urgency of the need to avoid mutual extermination. There is so much worth saving.

THE MYTH OF *Non-Interference*

by JOHN NUVEEN

An Assistant Secretary of State, addressing a forum on foreign relations, had just finished his discussion of Russian successes and American failures in Asia when a young participant rose and asked. "Why can't the United States do some of the things that the Russians are doing?" The answer was prompt and precise. "It is not our policy to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries."

This seemed a satisfactory answer. Why not? We believe in the right of self-determination. But the Russians were violating this precept. By infiltration, intrigue, and subversion, they had succeeded in capturing control of the governmental machinery of the countries in Eastern Europe, imposing Communist rule and denying self-determination. This technique was now being employed in Asia and elsewhere. It was not consonant with our principles for us to do the same thing.

This was eleven years ago. I was a visiting observer at the meeting and did not feel that I could properly challenge the speaker. I reflected, however, that if I had been asked the same question two years earlier, I

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would have given the same answer. But during those two years, I had served as the first chief of the Marshall Plan in Greece and through bitter experience had learned some of the hard facts of international life.

When I first went there in July, 1948, Greece was moving into the third year of a Communist-inspired civil war. In February, 1947, Britain which had been assisting the Greek government in its struggle against the Communist-supported guerrillas, announced that for economic reasons she could no longer continue her support and that if the Greeks were to be saved from being pulled behind the iron curtain, someone else would have to do it. Soon after, President Harry S. Truman announced the doctrine, which has since carried his name, that the United States would help protect smaller nations from larger aggressors. Congress then passed the aid to Greece and Turkey bill which provided economic aid for Greece and military aid for both nations. Missions were promptly recruited, and the United States was launched on its first peacetime experiment in world leadership.

A realization that not only Greece but all Western Europe was in danger from Communist penetration prompted General George C. Marshall, then Secretary of State, to propose extensive economic aid to Europe. Although Marshall outlined his now historic plan in June, 1947, it was not until April, 1948, that the European Recovery Plan was launched. Greece was the only country in which we had a mission administering an economic aid program prior to the Marshall Plan.

When I arrived in Greece at the end of July, 1948, I inherited a staff that had been struggling with Greek problems for more than a year. At the first briefing I received from the division heads, testimony was unanimous that Greece's political problems were more troublesome than her economic needs. The Greek economy, which was not self-sufficient before the war, had suffered almost complete paralysis during the conflict. Political administration had withered during the German occupation. To intensify the problem, the depression of the early Thirties, which hit Greece severely, had brought about a dictatorship which discouraged the apprenticeship of young political leaders. When the Greek government was re-established in 1947, there had been no elections since 1934, and there was deep dissatisfaction in the provinces over habitual neglect of their problems by the government in Athens. The Greek people are as deeply imbued with democratic principles as any nation—they gave us the word "democracy"—and would probably be among the last to embrace Communism as an ideology, but there was considerable secret sympathy and support for the Communist-led guerrillas because they were trying to overthrow the government in Athens.

It was obvious that the need for political rehabilitation in Greece was even greater than the urgent necessity of economic reconstruction. Yet even though we had a promising four-year economic program, the success of which depended upon stable, popular government, we had no parallel political program. Ambassador Henry Grady refused even to discuss such a program, and his refusal was supported by the State Department in Washington. The failure to face this situation squarely, no doubt largely because of the doctrine of non-interference, nearly resulted in tragic consequences.

Intelligence reports credited the guerrillas with only 25,000 men, while the Greek army and gendarmerie totaled 250,000. Yet in spite of this overwhelming superiority, the military situation of the Greek government deteriorated steadily until, by December, 1948, it was safe to travel without a military escort only within a twenty-mile radius of Athens. At this point I discussed the seriousness of the situation with a Greek businessman who said to me: "You know what the matter is, don't you?" To draw him out I pleaded ignorance. He replied that the government was no good; that many of the generals were political appointees who were not competent and did not have the respect of the army; that everyone knew the government was no good and the people would have changed it long before (by the customary military coup, provisional government, and new elections) but Greece was dependent on American aid to keep from starving, and, since we apparently had confidence in the present government, the people did not want to risk our displeasure by changing it.

Finally the situation became so desperate that the Parliament, under pressure from public opinion, decided to risk American displeasure and registered a vote of no-confidence in the government, which then resigned. It was only after several critical weeks that it was possible to become disentangled from the old regime, secure a new cabinet of younger, dedicated men, and, probably most important, arrange the appointment of General Papagos, the great general who was credited with defeating the Italians, as commander-in-chief of the army under his own condition that there would be no political interference with his command. The confidence of the army and the people in their leadership was restored, and the guerrilla war, which had dragged on for almost three years, was ended in six months.

No lesson could be more obvious. In adhering in Greece to a doctrine of non-interference, we had actually been interfering to keep a bad government in power. It became clear that once we decided to help a nation, whether by economic aid, a favorable trade treaty, or even through private investment, we were unavoidably interfering to support the government in power, which always interpreted any outside assistance as an endorsement of its regime. In other words, so long as we failed to interfere positively to support necessary political and social reforms, we would be interfering negatively to support the often intolerable status quo.

But this lesson was lost on our State Department, which still clung

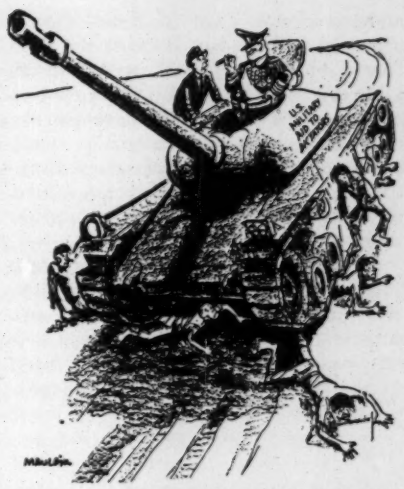
There are extra dividends when you give The Progressive for Christmas
(see back cover)

to the myth of non-interference. Once the threat of a Communist-led guerrilla victory was removed, another obstacle arose to plaque the economic program. The Greek political situation reverted to normal under a system that encouraged political machinations and instability. In the year following victory over the guerrillas, there were eight different cabinets. Under such circumstances fiscal and economic reforms were next to impossible, the administration of any kind of program was hopelessly confused, and progress at a standstill.

Ambassador Grady was recalled in 1950, either by the routine of rotation or because he became *persona non grata* with the Greek government. The reason is less important than the appointment of John J. Peurifoy as his successor. Ambassador Peurifoy was a political realist and had an independence of action enjoyed by few ambassadors because of his friendships with and the respect of members of Congress acquired in his service as Assistant Secretary of State for Congressional Relations. After he had served in Greece long enough to feel sure of his ground, he made it clear that something had to be done to stabilize the political situation. When knowledgeable men in the Greek government proposed a change in the election system, modifying the proportional representation system to discourage splinter parties, the American ambassador gave it his public endorsement. Immediately there were screaming editorials in the Chicago *Tribune* and the *Wall Street Journal* denouncing our interference in the internal affairs of another country.

But the new election system was adopted—and the wisdom of the men who proposed it, and of the ambassador who endorsed it, has been amply demonstrated. Greece has since been governed by one prime minister and one party for as long as six years in contrast to eight coalition cabinets in one year preceding the election reforms, and economic progress during this period of stable government has been remarkable.

We thus have in our experience in Greece a striking demonstration that not only is non-interference impossible in a country which we are attempting to help, but that failure to recognize the inevitability of interference can be disastrous.



Mauldin in The St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"You Mean There's No Other Way to Keep Them from Going Communist?"

Greece is not the only country in which these facts have been illustrated. In China we can see in retrospect that failure to use the leverage of our aid to force or assist Chiang Kai-shek to adopt land and other reforms that would benefit the people instead of the corrupt political generals in his cabinet forfeited any chance there may have been to defeat Mao Tse-tung and the Communists. In the Philippines, however, we intervened to the extent of requiring fiscal reforms and bringing about a coalition of the two political parties that opposed Elpidio Quirino's corrupt regime. Given a clear choice, the people of the Philippines chose wisely, and under Magsaysay honest government was restored. Within weeks the Huk rebellion against Quirino's misrule, a movement the Communists were using to ride into power, subsided, and another defeat in Asia was averted.

It is disconcerting to have to face the fact that non-interference is fiction, to realize that we cannot help other nations without intervening in their affairs, and that once we have become as powerful as we now are, both politically and economically, even many of our domestic actions have an effect on other nations that amounts to interference. A change in tariffs, a decision to stockpile or not to stockpile some commodity, can spell the difference between prosperity and depression for a one-product country and in turn produce a political crisis. It is so convenient to disclaim responsibility and avoid the necessity of tough decisions by raising the banner of non-intervention that it is no surprise our State Department has clung to this policy.

In no part of the world has the State Department followed non-intervention more resolutely than in Latin America, where non-intervention has been written into the articles of the Organization of American States, and in no area has the fiction of non-intervention been demonstrated more vividly; nowhere else has the pursuit of its illusions been more disastrous. When Fulgencia Batista seized the power of the presidency illegally for the second time, we should have known from the record that disaster loomed ahead for the Cuban people. But instead of "interfering" with the considerable influence we enjoyed, because of our substantial economic relations, to help restore legal and honest government, under the euphoria of non-interference we encouraged private investment, bestowed military aid, evidenced public displays of friendship through an insensitive, politically-appointed ambassador, and decorated the general responsible for the execution and torture of political enemies who threatened Batista's tyranny. We thus "interfered" to maintain him in power.

If non-intervention is neither wise nor possible, what instead should be our policy? The ultimate answer will be attained only through trial and error of experience, but some suggestions can be made for a new approach. Let us promptly discontinue repeating the unreal cliche of non-interference. Let us say clearly that we recognize that there is no way in which we can help a nation through aid, trade, or investment that will not to a greater or lesser degree result in interference in its internal affairs. Building factories and providing tools, for example, may promote an industrial revolution which can produce struggles and changes comparable to a political revolution. Recognizing this, we can try to see that whatever is done, whatever changes take place, will be for the benefit of all the people so far as possible and not just a

few leaders of the government or their friends.

Such a policy does not require us to go around the world poking into other people's business. We can state publicly and clearly that it is up to other nations to choose their own leaders, that if these leaders seek aid in helping to raise the standard of living of all their people and are dedicated to the ultimate goal of achieving government by the consent of the governed, we shall be glad to help them. We should make it clear in the articles of any such partnership that whenever in our opinion their leaders abandon their dedication to these goals and begin to seek special advantage for themselves, we reserve the right to discontinue our partnership.

Happily, President Kennedy has in effect told our Latin American neighbors, in connection with his Alliance for Progress program, that they must match our material aid with land and other necessary reforms. There remains only the question of our ability to carry out this policy. Unhappily, the organization and personnel of our present State Department do not inspire optimism. President Kennedy has made some excellent appointments at the top and a reorganization of the foreign aid function has been approved, but the main structure of the State Department needs serious attention.

One cannot overestimate the responsibilities of leadership in world affairs nor the skills required to discharge these responsibilities. Intelligent "interference" in the affairs of another nation by an ambassador who must carry it out requires a penetrating understanding of that nation—its philosophy, mores, and political history, as well as intimate knowledge of its leading personalities. Intervention requires political experience and toughness. Above all, it demands a delegation of authority comparable to that given a military commander.

We should abandon the foolish practice of rotating embassy personnel every few years, a practice which only insures that we never have a staff in any country with sufficient knowledge of local conditions or respect of local leaders to help effectively in the complicated task of evolving a modern nation. It is essential, too, that we select men for particular overseas assignments because of their special capacity and not just because they are foreign service officers with tenure and unassigned, much less political contributors. It will be necessary to draft new legislation to correct some of these disabilities, and this will require an educational campaign aimed at developing the support of public opinion.

To the question, are we not compromising our ideal of self-determination in abandoning the myth of noninterference, the answer is that quite the contrary is true. In the United States self-determination of the government and self-determination of the people are the same thing; because of this, we tend to lose sight of the fact that in a dictatorship the determination of the government is not necessarily the determination of the people. Most dictatorial governments maintain themselves in power by suppressing self-determination of the people. In such cases our ideal of "government by consent of the governed" demands that we should intervene affirmatively when we grant assistance, if we are to maintain our status as a nation of principle and purpose.

A Tale of Two Speeches

by GEORGE THOMSON

THIS IS the tale of two speeches. Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the British Labor Party, made the first one at Scarborough October 5, 1960, and the second at Blackpool October 4, 1961. Both were delivered to the same audience—delegates to the Party's annual conference. Friends and enemies alike agreed that they were the finest speeches of his life. Both were on the same theme—the need to support the alliance between Britain and America and to reject unilateral nuclear disarmament and British neutralism.

But there was one striking difference between the two occasions. The position outlined in the first speech was narrowly defeated in the conference. The second speech was overwhelmingly supported.

The vote of October, 1960, was the climax to the crisis which had been mounting in the Labor Party ever since it had suffered its third general election defeat in a row. On the major issue of Britain's role in the cold war, the Party conference had voted one way and the political leadership had gone another.

Behind the conference majority stood several of the biggest labor unions, including the mammoth Transport Workers and Engineers. Behind Gaitskell stood two-thirds of the Labor Members of Parliament. Traditionally there have been two distinct centers of authority in the Labor Party—the annual Party conference, and the Parliamentary Labor Party consisting of all the elected Labor M.P.'s. Until October, 1960, they had managed to keep more or less in step with each other. Now they were in head-on collision.

Among the pundits of the press and television there were plenty of prophecies, varying in cheerfulness according to the temperament and conviction of the commentator, that what had been witnessed at Scarborough was the rare and melancholy spec-

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tacle of a great political party in its death throes. Hugh Gaitskell's political career was at an end. His leadership would be overthrown, and his Party would break into two or more parts. Ahead of Britain lay twenty years of Toryism.

When the vote of October, 1961, was announced, the same commentators observed that the Labor Party was more united than for many years, and that Gaitskell's personal authority, both in his Party and among the public, was higher than ever. If the British Parliament held mid-term elections, it is quite likely that a Labor Government would be elected this autumn.

What has been the cause of this astonishing turnabout? Behind it lies the story of ten months that saved the Labor Party; for owing to the peculiar processes by which Labor Party democracy works, Gaitskell's victory was assured by July of this year. Labor conference votes are largely determined by the decisions the labor unions associated with the Party take at their own annual conventions earlier in the year.

However narrowly the union decision may go, the whole union's "bloc vote" of all its members is then cast in that direction at the Labor conference. By the time the delegates assemble at one of Britain's big seaside resorts in the autumn, the result is already a foregone conclusion. It is a matter not of rhetoric but arithmetic.

Last year, because of this curious time scale, some of the biggest unions committed themselves against the official defense policy of the Labor leadership before the details of that policy had been published.

This year, the turning point for Gaitskell came with the unexpected decision of the Engineers Union to switch its Scarborough vote from unilateral disarmament to multilateral disarmament. This took place in May. The Engineers Union had for a long time been the setting for a bitter battle between anti-Communist officials and a national committee which the Communists were accustomed to running. At one point this tussle had led to the ludicrous position of the Engineers voting both ways at once in the defense argument. At Scarborough the Communists found themselves on the winning side. But in March, although the Communists in the union mounted their maximum effort, and although most outside observers expected them to hold their position, they were suddenly defeated.

In a real sense the British Labor Party was saved by the handful of unknown men, few if any of them politicians, who persuaded the Engineers to support the Gaitskell position. But their private, bitter, and fateful discussions reflected a number of factors which lay behind the fundamental shift in opinion going on throughout the labor movement.

Most immediately effective in bringing it about was the emergence of a grass-roots organization, the Campaign for Democratic Socialism. It set out to counterbalance the activities of the Communists in a union like the Engineers and to put the Gaitskell point of view before the delegates to the union conference. But the degree to which it succeeded was determined by the fact that defeat of the Labor leadership at Scarborough turned out to be a false measure of the real state of opinion within the Party. As time passed and views became less confused on the complicated technical issues of defense, it became more and more evident that the real consensus favored the leadership. The attitude of Hugh Gaitskell played an important role in providing a breathing space for these processes of clarification and persuasion to work themselves out. He was under heavy pressure to resign, and he showed courage in standing firm in the face of a great deal of personal attack.

Finally, the Labor Party was helped by the misfortunes and blunders of the Conservatives, who ran into serious economic troubles at home and a good deal of political difficulty in both Europe and Africa.

What was the defense argument about? The policy of the Labor Party leadership advocates that Britain should cease trying to be an independent nuclear power and should use its influence to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons to nations other than those now having them. But Britain should remain in a Western Alliance, sharing the protection of the American nuclear deterrent. This deterrent should not be surrendered by the West in advance of a multilateral disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union. Within the Western Alliance Britain should use her influence further to reduce dependence on tactical nuclear weapons, to encourage positive plans for disengagement in Europe, to urge the seating of Communist China on the Security Council, and to help in building up the authority of the United Nations generally.

The alternative to these policies has been put forward by a remarkable crusading body, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, together with the Committee of 100, which advocates more extreme policies of direct action and civil disobedience. The memberships of both bodies overlap and their leadership includes the philosopher Bertrand Russell, the novelist J. B. Priestley, and both church and labor union leaders. It is non-party, but its main influence has been on the Labor Party. Indeed, one of the phenomena of contemporary British politics is that the Conservative Party and the government have appeared to be untouched by the great conflict of conscience presented by nuclear weapons, although there is a deep and genuine concern among British citizens of all political views.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has advocated Britain's unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons and withdrawal from an Atlantic Alliance still based on nuclear strategy. It has been led, therefore, to a neutralist position. Its case has been that British disarmament, by example instead of through negotiation, would persuade or shame the Soviet Union and the United States into serious multilateral disarmament. At its most articulate it has urged that Britain should cease to be an ally of the United States and should seek to become a leader of the uncommitted nations—a sort of India of the West.

There have been mass marches on Trafalgar Square and mass sit-downs outside the Ministry of Defense. These have attracted the adherence not only of the traditional pacifists but of many non-pacifists eager to feel that they are doing something to avert the danger of nuclear war. It

has inevitably attracted the support of the Communists, keen to exploit a movement that could simultaneously weaken the Western alliance, damage its ancient enemy, the Labor Party, and give the Communists greater influence within the unions. The British Communists did not bargain, however, on being invited to demonstrate outside the Soviet Embassy in protest against Russia's resumption of nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

The influence of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and of some of its more extreme fringe bodies has been exaggerated abroad, but it remains true that it reflects a widespread concern in Britain over the dangers of the nuclear stalemate. It is, however, also an aspect of the painful adjustment to the realization that Britain has ceased to be a great world power. For generations both Right and Left in Britain have believed that what Britain did in international affairs largely determined peace or war.

The Right believed in keeping the peace by sending a gunboat; the Left believed that war could be prevented if Britain did *not* send a gunboat.

The Suez campaign was the last fling of the British Right in advocating nostalgically that Britain could impose peace by the use of unilateral military force. Perhaps the defeat of the Nuclear Disarmament Campaign at this year's Labor conference marks the last time the British Left will be able to hold that Britain can make the rest of the world peaceful by unilateral renunciation of military action.

In any case, the very success of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in persuading the Labor Party to switch its line last year provoked its own reaction and brought to birth the rival Campaign for Democratic Socialism. It numbered neither philosophers nor trade union leaders among its members. It was the creation of small groups of local Labor Party members in various parts of the country who felt that the Labor Party was in danger of departing from its support of collective security and multilateral disarmament. They also believed the Party was becoming out of date and doctrinaire in facing up to the problems of a newly affluent Britain.

Normally within the Labor Party, the Left wing has been a vocal and visionary minority, while the moderate majority has been gradualist and also much less articulate, particularly at the local levels. The setting up of factional organizations has been left to those with more extreme views, while the moderates have relied, complacently as it turned out, on their control of Party policy through the votes of cautious trade union leaders. In the recent dissensions those with more extreme views have benefited from having a compulsive weakness for endless meetings and minor intrigue, while the moderates tended to be the kind of people for whom committees were a necessary chore and a spare-time activity much less enjoyable than being with their families, digging their gardens, or watching television.

Members of the Campaign for Democratic Socialism changed this by proving to the normally silent moderates in the local meetings that if they spoke up they were much more numerous and effective than they had imagined. Directed by Bill Rodgers, a former Fabian Society general secretary, they went to work on the delegates to union locals and to the Labor Party units in the electoral districts. The achievement of the CDS was simply to show that a majority of Labor supporters shared the views of the moderate leadership.

This revolt of the moderates and their reassertion of their role as the majority element in the Party was encouraged by Hugh Gaitskell's own conduct during the crisis. He had two advantages. First, the leader of the Labor Party is elected not by the conference but by the Labor Members of Parliament, and a large majority of these were firmly behind him. Second, since the tragic death of Aneurin Bevan there has been no alternative Party leader of comparable stature and capacity. However, like Adlai Stevenson, Gaitskell has the disadvantage of being an egghead. The British public does not love its intellectuals as it probably should, and the Labor Party has always shown a predilection for a warm heart rather than a clear head. But there was an appealing and unexpected passion in the way Gaitskell announced in the face of defeat that he would "fight and fight and fight again to save the Party we love." The British like a man who goes on fighting with his back to the wall for what he believes when all seems lost. And they love him even more if he wins. The respect Gaitskell now enjoys among the general public will be a powerful weapon in his hands in any future disputes within the Labor Party.

Gaitskell's rise in popularity has been assisted by a decline in that of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan. The government ran into a serious economic crisis just at the moment it was starting negotiations to enter the European Common Market. The

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Conservatives have been forced to borrow heavily from the very people with whom they are bargaining, and are thus negotiating from a position of considerable weakness. They have behind them a reluctant public opinion resentful of the crisis taxation that has been imposed on them by a government which two years ago won their votes by encouraging a spending spree and allowing the rate of economic growth to take second place.

As the Berlin crisis mounted, Macmillan's first comment, between strokes on the golf course, was that it was "all got up by the press." His personal ambition as a statesman has been to make a contribution to easing world tensions. He was an old war crony of General Dwight Eisenhower and well equipped to be the President's go-between with the Russians. But Soviet intransigence and the arrival at the White House of a self-confident young stranger have wearied and frustrated him.

All this improves Labor's electoral chances. The defense argument was only the most violent expression of Labor's self-doubts over its third election defeat. Deeper lay its questioning of how a party bred of mass unemployment and mass poverty could adapt its thinking to an era of affluence. Much of the distrust of Hugh Gaitskell's leadership has arisen because of his handling of this problem. He began by wanting to rewrite Labor's constitution, and since Labor in its motivation is part political party and part a secular church, this was rather like disowning Moses and wanting to chip out a new set of stone Tablets.

But now a new statement of Labor's policies, entitled "Signposts for the Sixties," has been produced which was carried with acclamation at this year's conference. The arguments about large-scale nationalization are now dropped, and it concentrates on selective public ownership and a program of planning for British economic growth to catch up with its European competitors.

The Labor Party is still suffering from a sobering sense of hangover after its recent orgy of dissension and its narrow escape from self-destruction, but it has achieved a greater unity over both defense and domestic policy than it has known for years.

Growing Old

by SELIG GREENBERG

This is the first of a series of three articles by Mr. Greenberg on the problems of growing old. Mr. Greenberg is the prize-winning writer on medical problems for the Providence Journal *and the* Evening Bulletin. *He has twice been honored by the Lasker Foundation for his distinguished writing in medicine.*—THE EDITORS.

ONE OF THE biggest and most widely publicized affairs staged in Washington in years was the White House Conference on Aging, held during the final days of the Eisenhower Administration last January. The Conference was scheduled and planned for nearly three years in advance, and was preceded by preparatory meetings throughout the country. It brought together 2,700 delegates from scores of governmental and voluntary agencies for a four-day talkathon estimated to have cost taxpayers about three million dollars. The theme of the conference was the slogan, "Aging with a Future," and out of it came reams of resolutions calling for prompt and concerted action to make life for millions of elderly Americans not only longer but also healthier, happier, and more meaningful.

Almost a year later, the record of positive action to implement the Conference's recommendations is a virtual blank. The sole exception is the liberalization of the Social Security program voted by Congress last summer, but this measure would doubtless have been passed even if the Conference had never been held. President Kennedy's proposal for the financing of medical care for the aged through the Social Security system remains securely bottled-up in the House Ways and Means Committee. Neither Congress nor the Administration has moved in any of the areas where action is sorely required to readjust our society to the needs of the steadily mounting proportion of its middle-aged and older members. Representative John E. Fogarty of Rhode Island, chairman of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Health, Education and Welfare, who sponsored the legislation providing for the White House Conference on Aging, recently complained that the much-advertised meeting may turn out to be "a cruel hoax against our senior citizens" who had expected vigorous action from the new Administration.

A seasoned politician who has come to be known as "Mr. Public Health" because of his dedicated and eminently successful efforts to boost Federal appropriations for medical research, Fogarty is learning the hard way that while Americans are willing to spend more and more of their tax money for the eradication of disease and prolongation of life, they are most reluctant to face up to the far-reach-

ing implications and heart-breaking dilemmas of a longer life span. It is this inertia, if not outright resistance to a realistic consideration of the problems of the later years, which is probably as responsible as the opposition of the American Medical Association for the difficulties encountered by those seeking enactment of the proposed program for medical care for the aged.

We have yet to adjust our sense of values, our ways of life, and our economy to the profound changes brought about by the longer average span of human life and to the needs of the vast legion of older people for whom the added years are far too often a period of stress and strain.

For all too many people, old age now means inadequate income, poor or marginal health, improper housing, isolation from family and friends, the discouragement of being shunted aside from the mainstream of life. Greater longevity has created a plethora of such social, economic, and personal problems as dependency and invalidism, employment and retirement, income security, health services, living arrangements, opportunity for meaningful activity and social participation, and the status of older people in the individual family unit and in our society as a whole. Somehow—if only because growing old is our common destiny—we have to create an environment in which the aged can live out their years with dignity and a sense of fulfillment.

The key to the aging problem lies in the fact that since 1900 the average duration of life in the United States has been extended by about fifty per cent, from forty-seven to seventy years.

To try to understand the full import of this enormously significant achievement, we must take a backward glance into the past. A life expectancy of the Biblical three score and ten years means that most Americans now live almost four times as long as man is believed to have lived in prehistoric times. Our present lease on life is three times what it was in ancient Greece and Rome, double what it was in the latter part of the Eighteenth Century, and seventy-five per cent more than in this country a century ago. The twenty-three years added to the average life span since the turn of this century are almost as much as the human race had been able to gain in the preceding two thousand years.

This spectacular accomplishment has been made possible by two developments—the dramatic advances of medical science and our progressively rising standard of living. The control of bacterial infections, improved maternal and child care practices, and better hygiene and nutrition have enabled the overwhelming majority of Americans to survive the hazards of childhood and youth and grow to healthy adulthood. Less sweeping, but considerable, progress also has been made against some of the diseases of later life, holding out hope of a still further extension of average longevity.

If we could turn back the pages of time, even if only for two or three generations, we would behold a world immeasurably more saddened by the impact of premature death. It was a world in which it was a common occurrence for disease to carry off the young, in which husbands were often bereaved by the loss of their wives in childbirth, in which thousands upon thousands of youngsters were orphaned. In those days the affliction of premature death and disability was a shattering reality in the average person's life. There is surely no more telling statistic than this one: About 100 years ago, an average American family had to have twelve children in order to raise six to adulthood. The childhood killers rampant at that time carried off the other six before they had a chance to grow through adolescence. In 1900, death still claimed one out of every four boys and girls. This meant that a husband and wife had to plan on having eight children if they wanted to raise six.

Since then the dread that a child might be taken by death has been lifted from millions of homes. Fewer than three babies out of every one hundred now are lost before they are a year old. Even greater progress has been made for older children. Only one of every 2,500 boys and girls now dies between the ages of five and fourteen. Within the past twenty-five years, the loss of life among mothers in childbearing has been slashed from sixty-seven to five for every 10,000 live births. How mightily the odds of life against death have been turned in our favor may be gauged from the fact that if the mortality rates which prevailed in 1900 had remained unchanged there would have been 1,600,000 additional deaths in the United States last year alone.

Longer life has had an increasingly marked impact on the age makeup of our society. In 1900 there were three million Americans sixty-five years of age and older. Since then the number in this age category has soared to more than 16,500,000. By 1970, according to conservative government estimates, the sixty-five-and-older group will have increased to about 20,000,000. The total population of the United States has grown by about 140 per cent during the past sixty years. But in the same period the number of those in the forty-five to sixty-four age bracket has risen by 250 per cent and the total of the sixty-five-and-over category has gone up more than five times.

One of every eleven Americans living today has passed his sixty-fifth birthday as compared to one of fifteen in 1940, one of twenty-five in 1900 and one of thirty-eight in 1850. The extent to which our nation has been growing up, in the most literal sense, may be seen even more clearly when we look at it in still another way. When the first decennial census of the United States was taken in 1790, it was found that about half of the population was sixteen years of age or younger. In 1820 the median age was still under seventeen. By 1850 it had risen to 18.9 years. In 1900 it was 22.9, and by 1950 had reached 30.2 years. Only the exceptionally high birth rate of the past decade succeeded in holding the upward climb. The 1960 census revealed an average age of 29.5, the first decline in the history of our country.

What complicates the situation from the social and economic point of view is not only that there are many older people but that more of them are living to advanced ages and there is a steadily increasing plurality of older women.

Out of every 100 persons in the sixty-five-plus group, sixty-three now are above the age of seventy, and

thirty-five are seventy-five or older. The present total of 5.5 million Americans who are seventy-five and over is expected to increase by nearly two million in the next ten years and to triple by the year 2000. There has been a widening gap in life expectancy between the sexes that now amounts to more than six years in favor of women. The result has been most pronounced in the older age groups. Women outnumber men by a ratio of 130 to 100 for those seventy-five and over and 140 to 100 for those eighty-five and over. There is already an excess of 1,500,000 women over men in the sixty-five-plus age bracket, and the feminine plurality is expected to keep on climbing. This will increasingly magnify the problem of economic dependency, for while there has been some increase in recent years in the employment of older women, job opportunities open to them remain extremely limited.

More than half of the women over sixty-five are widowed, as against only twenty-four per cent of men in the same bracket who are widowers. Because the average woman marries a man who is three years older than she is and can expect to outlive him by at least six years, she can expect to spend nine years without him. Many widows are left in a precarious economic position, and the great majority of them face years of loneliness and frustration. Their chances of remarriage, never too good, are growing steadily slimmer as the male deficit increases. Better means will somehow have to be found to provide decently for their financial support and to try to relieve their social isolation with its detrimental effects upon physical and mental health.

There are two aspects of the process of growing old—the physiological—what happens to the functional efficiency of the aging body and mind; and the social—how older people are treated and affected by their environment. The tragic irony is that while remarkable strides have been made in prolonging the average duration of human life and to some degree even in extending the period of physical and mental vigor, various social and economic forces have created new and formidable obstacles in the way of adjustment and happiness in old age. We have made much progress in an area always considered beyond human control. But our society's framework for aging actually has deteriorated. While there are many more elderly people than ever before, opportunities for their successful adaptation have been narrowed and there is considerably less use for them than in times past.

Mass production methods in industry have adversely affected the status of many older workers by tending to reduce the value of skills acquired over a lifetime of experience. Retirement is often enforced on the basis of arbitrary chronological standards rather than physiological and mental competence. Sweeping changes in family organization have gone a long way to rob the old of a meaningful place in the home. The aged usually are forced to adjust not only to physical and mental changes but also to a radically altered social role. For numerous men and women, their later years are a wasteland of loneliness and frustration.

In the days when our society was predominantly rural, the old could be fitted far more easily into tasks suited to their failing strength and more leisurely pace. Grandpa and Grandma usually were assets in the family. There was room for them in the house, there were plenty of chores for them to do, they could gradually reduce their activities while retaining a degree of usefulness which bolstered their self-respect, and their seasoned judgment and advice were valued. With the mass movement from country to city and the accelerating tempo of social and technological change, the aged have lost not only much of their usefulness but also a good deal of their family moorings and sense of belonging. Rural self-employment and handicraft occupations once permitted large numbers of old people to keep on working almost to the end of their days. But industrialization has advanced the onset of old age at the very time length of life itself has been greatly extended. Job standards are more rigid, skills become more readily obsolescent, and the older worker is no longer allowed to slow down gradually. It is not surprising, therefore, that today only twenty-four per cent of those sixty-five years of age and over are gainfully employed, in contrast to sixty-three per cent of the aged population who were in the labor force in 1900.

Despite the advent of Social Security, the economic position of a large proportion of older people remains precarious. One of every six men and women in the sixty-five-and-older group is on relief. More than two out of three now draw Social Security or other retirement benefits, but in many cases the level of such payments still is far from adequate. Latest available estimates are that the average money income of all persons sixty-five and over, including those living in families of relatives and in institutions, is only about $1,000 a year.

Arbitrary retirement, which is becoming an ever more common procedure in American life, has implications other than reduction of income. Many people have such a deep emotional investment in their work that its relinquishment calls for a major readjustment. Quite frequently, retirement means a loss of status and self-esteem and a disruption of long-established social contacts. With the breakup of the daily pattern of activities centered around his job, the retired person must find new ways to expend his time and energy if the abundance of leisure time is not to become a corrosive burden. This underscores the need for careful planning for aging and retirement, individually as well as collectively.

While longer life raises a multitude of problems, it also is replete with opportunities. It is a matter of vital concern for all of us to make more adequate personal preparations for the lengthening years of life, and to seek to create a climate in which the potentialities of older people can be conserved and developed. It is these areas I propose to explore in subsequent articles in this series.

Nearly everybody enjoys The Progressive

(see back cover)

The Birth Pangs of REVOLUTION

by SIDNEY LENS

IN THE JOY that accompanies the birth of a nation, Tanganyika this month will gain its independence. By President Kennedy's count this will be the forty-third nation to achieve freedom since World War II. If one adds Bolivia, Yugoslavia, China, and Cuba to the list of revolutionary nations, the figure becomes even more impressive.

This march of humanity away from imperialism is the most breath-taking revolutionary wave in all history. Yet a more dispassionate view gives rise to an uneasy feeling that the sparkle of independence dims significantly as the new nations seek viability.

On the other side of the African continent from Tanganyika, in the first of the postwar Negro republics, the mood this month will be cold, tense, and disturbing. After only four years of independent status Kwame Nkrumah's Ghana is deep in crisis. With one blow Nkrumah has lopped from the cabinet roster the leaders of both Left and Right. Simultaneously, Nkrumah has placed in a detention camp the moderate father of modern Ghanaian nationalism, J. B. Danquah. According to the Chicago *Daily News* correspondent, Smith Hempstone, all this signifies "the stripping away of the last remnant of the facade of democratic government."

Are the revolutions justified? Will the enthusiasm of Tanganyika turn in the next four years to the sullen mood of today's Ghana? Can any of the forty-odd revolutionary nations solve the problems which challenge them on every front?

I recall a conversation two years ago with a member of the Dominion Party of Southern Rhodesia. "See how the buggers devour each other," he said. "You can't trust them to run their own affairs. They haven't the foggiest notion of what democracy really is. They weren't really ready for self-rule. It would have been far better if they had agreed to remain under European administration for a longer period."

Is this a fair judgment? Suppose we call the roll of some of the revolutionary nations:

¶ Gamal Nasser's Egypt has not had a national election since he came to power in 1952. No opposition parties are permitted and the press is tightly circumscribed. Perhaps a thousand political prisoners have been in jail off and on, without benefit of trial.

¶ Jawaharlal Nehru's India manifests more political democracy than any other new nation. But its pace of economic development is pathetically slow. Land reform is a long way from completion. Hunger is still widespread. The caste of the Untouchables, though protected by favorable legislation, is in practice still harassed.

¶ Fidel Castro's Cuba has abrogated freedom of press, trade union autonomy, and other elementary civil liberties. The promise of elections in "eighteen months" has been repudiated. Shortages of lard, meat, other foods, and various consumer items increasingly plague the citizens of the Western Hemisphere's "first socialist country."

SIDNEY LENS has studied most of the recent and current revolutions first hand in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. He is the author of several books on foreign affairs, including "The Counterfeit Revolution," and has contributed to many publications here and abroad, including The Yale Review, Harper's, The New Republic, and The Commonweal.

¶ Sekou Toure's Guinea subsists on a one-party system and rigorous controls.

¶ Mexico, fifty years after the inception of its revolution, still does not have true democracy. The government party is unchallengeable; although other parties exist they have no chance of gaining power. Millions of Mexicans are still not significantly enrolled in the nation's economy.

¶ In Paz Estenssoro's Bolivia, crisis is chronic. Riots, plots, and revolts follow each other in rapid order.

The proponents—of whom I am one—of social revolution in underdeveloped countries cannot deny these and other failures and antidemocratic setbacks. They exist, for everyone to see. What reassurance do social democrats have that revolutions *are* steps forward?

The difficulty begins with such terms as "democracy" and "freedom." What do they mean? It is easy for Americans, whose revolution is 175 years old, to be self-righteous. We judge in terms of end results, rather than the long, arduous *process* by which democracy and freedom *evolve*. We forget the backward moves in our own history, the faltering steps of our own march toward democracy.

The American Revolution failed for many decades to deliver on its promises. It, too, had a full share of the bitterness and strife so characteristic of revolution today. Daniel Shays of Massachusetts sought to overthrow the revolutionary regime by force and violence, and he almost succeeded. At the opposite pole there were monarchists who hoped to crown George Washington as king. The pauperization of Americans by inflated "continentals" was appalling. And the argument over democracy was as bitter as any in history. Many of the men who framed the Constitution stated categorically they wanted a government of the "rich and well-born." "Remember," wrote John Quincy Adams, "democracy never lasts long. It soon wastes, exhausts, and murders itself. There never was a democracy yet that did not commit suicide." Mobs raided the printing presses of Thomas Jefferson's followers, and the third President of the United States was often called an "atheist," "fanatic,"

"democrat"—terms of the severest opprobrium. One newspaper longed for the day when "Jefferson's head will be rotting cheek by jowl with that of some toil-killed Negro slave."

The United States survived without secondary upheavals and new revolutions because of the vastness of its frontier and the exceptional ability of its leaders. Even then democracy did not emerge full blown. Universal male franchise—without property qualifications—did not become the rule for a half century. The right to form free trade unions was not fully recognized until the 1840's. Civil liberties were virtually suspended under President Adams' Alien and Sedition Laws. Eighty-five years after the revolution the nation was temporarily severed by a four-year civil war.

The ordeal of democracy in France was even more trying, what with the bloodbath of Robespierre, the dictatorship of Carnot and Napoleon, the undemocratic regime of Louis Phillipe, the Bonapartism of the second Napoleon. It was not until eighty-two years after the revolution that one could speak of a genuinely democratic regime in France.

To view the travail of Ghana or Egypt or India or Burma in terms different from those of the revolutions of yesterday is, therefore, complacent egotism. We tend to compare today's Ghana with *today's* America, rather than with the America of 1783. Our newspapers impatiently ask: "Why don't they have democracy? Why can't they have free elections and free political opposition?" We tend to believe that if citizens of an underdeveloped country can be given the right to pull a lever or mark an "X" they have achieved the lofty plateau of democracy—"our way of life."

Democracy is not achieved in a single act, or in a moment, but develops through a long evolution in which the means of dissent, discussion, and pressure are developed, and government finally responds to the will of the people as effectively as possible. Elections and the party system are certainly part of this development, but they are important parts rather than the totality of democracy. They are only two of the instruments by which government is used to implement the popular will. Other means include strikes, demonstrations, petitions, letters to legislators, pressure group meetings, newspaper editorials, and many other forms of countervailing power.

A no-party or a one-party system is certainly not a virtue. The one-party system in Stalinist Russia destroyed every semblance of popular pressure and produced one of the worst dictatorships in history. Yet it is possible for a no-party or one-party system to have more elements of democracy than a multi-party system.

Contrast today's Egypt with yesterday's. Since the victory of Nasser in 1952 there has been no national election and political parties have not been legalized. Yet the man at the bottom of the economy has more influence on the decisions of his government today than he ever had before. Political parties in King Farouk's day were instruments for the exclusive rule of the 2,000 large landowning families. The ordinary peasant was merely a pawn in the elections. He was told how to vote, and he either voted as the landlord instructed him, or the following year he found himself moved to a different and less fertile strip of land, and unable to secure credit. Economic domination by the landlord class vitiated the substance of democracy, while maintaining its forms. Voting merely expressed divergent views within the ruling class, not within the population as a whole.

Long in The Minneapolis Tribune

Traveling Companions

By contrast, the 1959 elections for village councils in Egypt *seemed* a farce. Ninety thousand candidates ran for 30,000 seats; no parties were permitted. Candidates could not form groups, and the press was far from free. Yet this was the first time in modern history that the Egyptian peasant was able to vote against the recommendations of his feudal lord. In one village after another the agents of the feudal class were swept out of power and the peasants elected men whose actions they could influence. This is hard, full-fledged democracy, but it provides far more response to mass desires than the "elections" and "party systems" under Farouk.

In contrast with today's Egypt, Nicaragua has all the forms of freedom including a multi-party system and elections every four years. Superficially this looks like democracy. The country's constitution is modeled on that of the United States, and theoretically its National Guard (a combination police force and army) is free of politics. Yet the rights of the people of Nicaragua have shrunk to the vanishing point. There are no permanent institutions by which the people of Nicaragua can exercise meaningful pressure. No councils are elected in the villages or cities; officials are appointed. In all Nicaraguan history only one strike has been adjudged legal by the Minister of Labor. The National Guard is the only real instrument of power, and it is controlled from top to bottom by President Luis Somoza and his brother, Anastasio. If the people are to reorient the policies of their government they can do so only through revolution.

Anyone who has lived in an underdeveloped country knows how fraudulent elections can be. Ballot counting is sometimes moderately honest, but an honest count may avail nothing if the opposition candidates are ruled ineligible in advance. This was the case, for instance, in the last Vietnamese election. In Formosa, another area we include in the "free world," there are periodic pollings but opposition candidates are arrested and prohibited from running. The means and methods by which a

true choice is perverted are numerous. Elections, unless honest and democratically controlled, may be only a camouflage for dictatorship.

When we view the revolutionary countries from the broader focal point of "response to popular will," we see that almost all of them are widening public participation in decision-making. They do not reach American or British standards at once, but—with frequent regressions—they are moving in that direction. Perhaps the most pronounced change in all the revolutionary countries is the enlargement of educational opportunities. Ghana has a university for the first time; the number of students in its primary schools has soared. Egypt has more than doubled its university enrollment. Cuba hopes to obliterate illiteracy by the end of this year, the climax of a three year campaign. This is the subsoil of democracy, an indispensable ingredient in nations where forty to ninety per cent of the people are illiterate.

Two other ingredients of developing democracy are land reform and village councils. The granting of a piece of land to a landless peasant, or moving him into a genuine cooperative, raises his level of decision-making considerably. The improvement of his economic plight also gives him greater potential political status. And the democratic election of village councils puts a sound floor under any future national democratic structure. The tribal chief in Africa used to be a benevolent despot. Under European rule he served his European paymasters rather than his tribe. When Kwame Nkrumah reduced the chiefs to ceremonial functions and granted genuine power to the elected village councils, he took his country an important step forward on the road to democracy. The same is true of Guinea and many other new revolutionary nations. Admittedly, the deeply significant decisions are national, not local. Yet, given a choice, it is preferable to have village democracy without national elections, rather than purely formal national elections without village democracy. In the one case the people are acquiring new rights; in the other only the upper classes are expressing their differences. It would be better, of course, if a nation could have both village and national democracy. But with few exceptions this is not possible overnight.

If we accept the conclusion that the achievement of democracy is an evolving process, the question arises: Why can't the new revolutionary countries achieve *more* democracy than they have?

The problem must be put in focus. What are the tasks of a revolution? What are the obstacles in its path?

Unquestionably the most pervasive pressure on every revolution is land reform. The peasant, whose class comprises the majority of the population, wants a piece of land for himself. Can the government give it to him? How does it get the land in the first place? What is the social purpose of land reform? Should the former owners be compensated, and, if so, how much? Once the peasant does get the land, how heavily should he be taxed? What kind of cooperative organizations are needed to supplement land reform?

There are no easy answers to these questions. Few land reform programs have dealt with all the problems they were expected to solve. In Mexico, for instance, President Cardenas and some of his successors, after 1934, divided large areas of land among landless peasants. There were few provisions for credits, however, and little else to make the program effective. The result has been that the individual farmer may now own a strip of two or five acres but he is at the nadir of poverty anyway. There is little question that land reform in Mexico has been an economic failure. Politically, however, it has been a marked success. It destroyed the old feudal class and reshuffled the structure of power within Mexico. Without this reform Mexico could not have advanced even as little as it has.

In Yugoslavia, during the period when Tito was a hostage of Stalin, land reform consisted of forcing the peasants into collectives. Their hostility to this system was fierce. When Tito broke with Stalin, the peasants were permitted to regain individual strips of land. Their farms became more productive. Tito made credits available to the peasants and formed cooperative buying, selling, and machine organizations to aid their progress. This was all to the good, but now a new problem arose—as it must in all underdeveloped countries. If the farmer produces more, how much can he be permitted to keep for personal consumption? If it is too much, the country cannot accumulate the necessary capital to build fertilizer plants and other industrial establishments. If it is too little, the peasant refuses to produce. There must be a balance between consumption and capital formation. If consumption is too severely curtailed—as in Russia during the 1930's—the state soon finds itself using harsh measures against the farmers. If it is not curtailed enough, then there is insufficient money for new dams and factories.

A second task of many of the new nations is to weld together a nation of disparate tribes or areas. India has the constant problem of separatism. The Sikhs want autonomous rights; their leader goes on a fast to dramatize their demands. Yet if Nehru were to permit the fragmentation of his country, administration would become next to impossible and the state would be faced with grave problems.

The dangers of separatism are even more pronounced in Ghana. There are fifty-two tribes in this country. Many would like complete control over their areas, if not independence. The Ashanti, for instance, have always wanted full autonomy. But to grant it would destroy Ghana, since the Ashanti area produces two-thirds of the most vital product of the economy—cocoa. To grant autonomy to the Ashanti would mean giving up programs for schools, road building, housing, and industrialization.

Nkrumah can stand before his people and explain this—just as President Kennedy can tell the American people that it is necessary for New Yorkers to contribute more than their share, on a population basis, for school expansion so that the "underdeveloped" state of Mississippi can gain a proportionately larger share. But in the United States there is a rather strong concept of "nationhood." Despite our many regional quarrels there is a basic loyalty to the idea of a "United States." We share a common history, language,

culture. But in Ghana this is not true. The loyalty of the average person there is first to his tribe rather than to his nation. He has little concept of what a "nation" means. He speaks a different language from those in the other fifty-one tribes. He has a different history and culture. He does not feel the compulsion for unity that we do in the United States.

Nkrumah has tried in many ways to fashion a national consciousness. Viewed superficially they are highly unattractive. For instance, he has encouraged personal adulation. There are now Nkrumah schools, and Nkrumah squares, and Nkrumah pictures on coins and bills. The purpose is to create loyalty to himself as an individual, and through himself, loyalty to the nation.

As for the detentions without trial, again Nkrumah has chosen the lesser evil. If he were to permit all his articulate opponents to run rampant they could no doubt mobilize enough sentiment on a simple tribal basis to tear Ghana apart and destroy the revolution.

Admittedly the Ghanaian people had a "will" to make a revolution *against* Britain. Creating that unity was simple; everyone was against the outsider who ruled the country. But it was only a first step, and it is subject now to tremendous centrifugal stress. Everyone was against Britain, but how many in Ghana can understand the difference between a high rate and a low rate of capital formation? Only the minute number of intellectuals and some of the middle class. If Nkrumah—or Nasser, or Sekou Toure, or Castro—were to permit this leadership force to split into many political forces, he would be doomed.

We must not underestimate the importance of affluence to democracy. Consider the role of trade unions. Few serious students of the democratic process can visualize a democratic life without free labor organizations, empowered to strike, capable of winning higher wages and other concessions. But give the Ghana unions such full reign, permit them to win wages as high as uncontrolled power would permit, and the revolution would founder. If the capital needed for schools and roads and factories were diverted to higher wages, the wage increases themselves would become meaningless, because unless the state can provide enough consumer goods the gains would be whittled away by inflation. The fate of wages and other social gains in underdeveloped countries is tied to revolution, and revolution is a much broader exercise than collective bargaining. Until it can create a degree of affluence it must impose restraints and discipline.

Grant full political democracy in any of the harassed new lands and the government soon would be overthrown by reactionary elements. Mobilizing the nation against a common foe—imperialism or rightist dictatorship—is a simple matter. Mobilizing it for a cause is something else.

This is no plea against democracy or elections, or anything of the kind. I am merely trying to indicate the scope of the problem. My own feeling, in the case of Cuba, for example, is that Castro could well afford to permit a degree of political democracy—criticism in the press and the right of opposition within a unified political party. But that is a matter of judgment. The fact is that fully advanced democracy, of the type we have established in the West, is possible only if Castro were to abandon the revolution itself. The same can be said of Nkrumah, Nasser, Sekou Toure, the Nigerians, and many others.

By way of illustration, one can point to India, where political democracy is perhaps as extensive, if not as intensive, as in the United States. Nehru refuses, except in rare instances, to impose dictatorial restrictions such as detentions—though he has the constitutional right to do so. Nehru prefers a snail's-pace economic progress to political restriction. There is no question that if the tempo of economic change were to speed up in India it would be accompanied by more political restrictions.

The reason is clear. The underdeveloped part of the world produces an income of less than $100 for each person (as against some $2,800 in the United States). To build schools, dams, roads, factories, and clinics, the underdeveloped nations must form capital. Forming capital means curtailing consumption or taking over the wealth of the upper classes, or

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The Progressive Madison, Wisconsin

both. Someone—some class—must be squeezed. The hope of every revolutionary is that this "squeezing" be kept to a minimum. It cannot, however, be entirely avoided. At one extreme pole we have the kind of squeezing Stalin imposed, which lowered living standards and created such hostility that the Russian dictator had to fashion a shocking totalitarian state to combat it. At the other pole is India, which minimizes compulsion at the expense of slow change. Perhaps somewhere in the middle—though closer to the Indian example—one might find the most hopeful formula.

Under any circumstances, the response to popular will that is the essence of democracy cannot be achieved overnight, nor by the formulas that the United States has to day, 175 years after its revolution. We must judge new nations not as finished products, but by their direction.

Julius K. Nyerere, who takes the helm in independent Tanganyika, is one of the most admirably fitted persons to lead a revolution. No one can argue that he is a "Communist" or a "fellow-traveler." His espousal of the theory of multi-racialism is exemplary in Africa. In his government will be white men, Indians, as well as a Negro majority—all treated as "Tanganyikans" rather than by their racial appellation. Nyerere is recognized by many as an African Gandhi—even of temper, and most tolerant of others. Yet Nyerere recognizes that democracy in new nations cannot pattern itself on that of the United States, or achieve such lofty levels overnight.

"Too often," he said recently, "we have been ready to accept an Anglo-Saxon or an American definition of democracy, without realizing that in doing so we are allowing ourselves to be sold not simply the democratic ideal but the particular form it has taken in those countries. . . . [Those forms] are the result of history and of circumstances peculiar to the Western peoples . . . not essentially to democracy."

It would be hard to find a better formulation of the problem. The revolutionary nations will follow a different course toward democracy from the one we did. They may, along the path, be forced to curtail democratic rights temporarily. But there is hope for the ultimate result if they are moving in the right direction.

THE PEOPLE'S FORUM

Negotiate with Honor

Dear Sirs:

Because the rulers of Russia are brutal men, should the United States be ready to join with them in destroying both countries and much besides? The President said in his recent speech at the United Nations: "We shall be remembered either as the generation that turned this planet into a flaming pyre or the generation that met its vow 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war.'"

Though "vow" is figurative, "flaming pyre" is the literal truth, at least as to great centers of population like New York, Chicago, and Washington. Against a flaming pyre there is no defense. It follows that, at least as to great centers of population, the campaign for shelters is only an anodyne that makes nuclear war more possible by making it seem less frightful.

Yet in this same speech the President said: "The Western powers have calmly resolved to defend, by whatever means are forced upon them, their obligations and their access to the free citizens of West Berlin and the self-determination of those citizens." This means that these powers have resolved to apply in the present crisis a national morality inherited from the pre-nuclear age. The resolve assumes that we are under a conditional moral obligation to turn the world into a flaming pyre.

Because negotiation involves give as well as take, some people cry "appeasement" when it is mentioned. They say we lack the will to fight. They may have had some success in creating a conditional will to fight a limited war, but I hope and believe that the great majority of Americans have no will to fight a nuclear war for West Berlin. A "will to fight" used to be a will to send men to kill, and be killed by, other men in order to promote a policy. A will to fight a nuclear war would be a will to kill hundreds of millions of men, women, and children at once and expose other millions to death of hunger and disease.

The question is not, should we turn "this planet into a flaming pyre" rather than submit to control of the United States by the rulers of Russia. If that were the question, many of us would answer it in the affirmative. But there is no occasion to consider how we would answer it. The present question is not even, should we end the world rather than permit Russia to control the future of West Berlin?

The present question is, should we end the world rather than negotiate changes in the status of West Berlin and clarification of the relations of West Berlin and West Germany with East Germany? Let us go to the United Nations, willing and eager to negotiate in the spirit of the Charter.

I have heard it argued that acceptance of any change would be an entering wedge and we must be "firm" on West Berlin because if we are not, we may at some future time be compelled to choose between destruction by nuclear war and destruction of some vital American interest without war.

We do not know that such an alternative will ever arise. If it ever arises, then will be the time to confront it. We cannot reasonably prefer certain present destruction on minor issues to possible future destruction on major issues.

Despite the brutality and bluster of the Russians, it may be possible to negotiate tolerable terms concerning West Berlin or even the whole of Berlin. A nominally "free city," guaranteed by the presence of troops of the United Nations and the four great powers if it means the whole of Berlin, or the United Nations and the three Western powers if it means only West Berlin, might have much freedom.

It is thought that we would lose prestige if we engaged in give and take with Russia, and it seems to be assumed that this would be worse than nuclear war. The President has spoken of "humiliation." Such attitudes survive from times when not only weapons but ideas were more primitive than they are now. If a gentleman was humiliated, honor called for blood. If rulers were humiliated, honor called for war.

Mankind can no longer afford such attitudes. Even as long ago as 1915, when the Germans sank the *Lusitania*, President Wilson said we were "too proud to fight." A mature nation may well be too proud to turn this planet into a flaming pyre over Berlin. It might well be humiliated by any thought of entering a nuclear war to avoid humiliation.

JUDGE HENRY W. EDGERTON
United States Court of Appeals
Washington, D.C.

The President and the Press

Dear Sirs:

Your editorial, "Flight from Reality," in the November issue, is the most thorough and able analysis yet of what the Kennedy Administration has, and has not, accomplished. It was also personally informative, even though, as a Washington correspondent, I am close to the scene.

I am in hearty accord with your comments about "the treacherously unreliable oversimplification of most of the press . . ." I

attended the President's last press conference and found myself silently asking, "Why hold press conferences at all, considering what comes out of them in the way of reportage?"

I agree with you that, in view of the inadequate reportage in Washington, coupled with the widespread failure of the press to give such coverage as these occasions require, the President ought to take his case straight to the people; he would also do well to move some of his press conferences from Washington.

Notwithstanding his failures, some of which I could criticize as severely as anyone, Mr. Kennedy has made progress when compared with the stagnant Administration that preceded him. If he can cut the arrogant generals down to size and put them in their proper place, that would have an important bearing on world affairs and do much to allay growing world suspicion of us, largely caused by the fact that political policy has been made subservient to the military. A recent pronouncement of the Air Force Association in a conference, backed by the Pentagon brass, stated that neither political nor *moral* considerations should be allowed to stand in the way of military policy.

LAWRENCE FERNSWORTH
Press Gallery
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Exploiting Terror

Dear Sirs:

Those who hesitate about accepting nuclear war as "the price we may have to pay for freedom and democracy," might reflect that a $20 billion investment in bomb shelters will increase the power of civil defense officials and, indirectly, of the military; the program will offer handsome profits and enhanced prestige to the military-industrial complex President Eisenhower warned against; and further, it will suggest to the Russians that our preventive-war advocates are beginning to call the tune.

Is it not time the American people realized that, from motives noble or ignoble, their terror is being exploited, and their money (urgently needed for waging peace) is being spent not only for an impossible objective, but to prolong and tighten the cold war tensions?

GERALD BARNES
Natick, Massachusetts

The Tragedy of Civil Defense

Dear Sirs:

Recently, while visiting friends in a nearby suburb, the chairman of the civil defense committee reported on conversations his committee had had with the Mother Superior of a novitiate in the community. The Mother Superior, it was announced, is willing to have the cellars of the large novitiate used as a shelter for as many residents as possible, in addition to the forty novices. With space for 250, plus the forty nuns, about 100 residents would not be able to squeeze in.

And so, "Get thee to a nunnery, Go!" has become a civil defense command. I wondered as I listened that night how many others got the feeling that in this local example of planning, we had stumbled upon a symbolic situation, ironic, tragic, and so futile. If everyone races for the novitiate, who will bar the doors to the 100 men, women, and children who are too late? The nuns? The other good Christians? The good Jews? One thing, I think, is sure, that if nuclear war comes, there will not only be very few humans left alive, but those who do live will have no humanity left in them.

After the meeting there was little talk about the subject. I have the feeling that the average person in such a group does not plan to do anything to "defend" himself. He has a suspicion that if it happens, nothing will be of much use. I think this is one reason why, in this suburban area, a much-publicized meeting to demonstrate a fallout shelter, held in a big stadium, drew fewer than 100 persons.

WALTER STONE
New York, New York

Nuclear War Insane

Dear Sirs:

Those who maintain it takes "courage" to risk nuclear war are mistaken, in my opinion. It may take courage to risk one's own life for a cause. To risk the lives of others in a nuclear holocaust is not courageous, but insane. It is like saying, "I regret that I have but 180 million lives to give for my country."

PETER D. KING
Encino, California

No Freedom in Taiwan

Dear Sirs:

The recent action of our government in agreeing to deny Thomas W. I. Liao the opportunity to come to the United States in exchange for the Nationalist Chinese government's withholding a veto on the admission of Outer Mongolia has swept from under the rug again one of our most shameful and hypocritical policies—the denial of self-determination to the Taiwanese.

Dr. Kiao is a staunch anti-Communist, who also opposes the dictatorial rule of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. Contrary to the position of the Nationalist government and the China lobby, anti-Communism is not inconsistent with opposition to Chiang—indeed they stem from the same source, which is a repugnance to any government which denies political and personal liberty.

The Taiwanese have never considered themselves part of China and have historically sought independence both from Japan and from the Chinese mainland. When Chiang was repudiated by the mainland Chinese, he established his rule on Formosa with our backing, much to the chagrin of the native Taiwanese, who now have no opportunity to participate in the government save as members of Chiang's clique.

Political liberty, even in the most rudimentary sense, is unknown on Taiwan unless the person seeking such liberty is pro-Chiang. Political opponents have been jailed and exiled. The elections are not significantly more free than in any Communist state. No opposition party is permitted to function effectively. Above all, the Taiwanese do not have the opportunity to develop their legitimate nationalist aspirations so long as they are a pawn in Chiang's unrealistic ambition to remain a world figure after having been repudiated by the people he ruled.

We are committed, or so we say, to the ideal of self-determination. On this basis (and rightly so) we condemn Portugal for her Angola policy; on the same basis we risk war over Berlin and Germany so that Germany can be united through free elections; we proclaim Captive Nations Week, urging the freedom of nations when we know that we cannot or will not do anything to implement these pious resolutions.

To us, self-determination means more than merely elimination of foreign rule and influence, as it does to so many neutral nations, who, having attained freedom from foreign domination, proceed to retain many of the repressive features of the departed foreign regimes. Perhaps this is why they do not see any issue of self-determination involved in the German crisis. To us it means that the people of a given territory, whether an existing state or a part of another state striving for separate existence, e.g., Algeria, have a right not only to rule themselves free of foreign control, but to decide who their rulers will be through free elections.

On both counts there is a denial of self-determination on Formosa. To the native-born Taiwanese Chiang is a foreign ruler, who denies them the opportunity to govern the land of their birth. Even if we assume that the Taiwanese have no right to national self-determination, nonetheless the people living on Formosa should have the opportunity to elect their own rulers in free elections, and not be subjugated to a dictatorial regime, completely dependent on our economic and military aid.

ROBERT ALLEN SEDLER
Assistant Professor of Law
Saint Louis University
St. Louis, Missouri

Disputes Matthews on Cuba

Dear Sirs:

I do not agree with most of the central theses of Herbert L. Matthews' book, *The Cuban Story*, nor with the reasoning that supports them. One chain of reasoning, repeated several times in different wordings, could be summarized as follows:

1. Drastic social reform was needed in Cuba.
2. Drastic social reform has to be achieved through totalitarian methods.
3. Therefore, Castro had to use totalitarian methods to achieve the drastic social reform that was needed in Cuba.

The syllogism is formally correct and contains many elements of factual truth, but it fails to explain that the social reforms mentioned in the conclusion are different from those mentioned in the first premise; and it fails also to take into consideration that the overwhelming popular support that Fidel Castro enjoyed would have permitted a large degree of social and economic change with no major or permanent deviations from democratic principles and procedures.

Cuba needed to break up large land holdings and to create a substantially large num-

ber of landowners who cultivate their land; to establish new industries to occupy the unemployed (seasonal, cyclical, and structural); to step up its rate of economic growth; to tax more heavily high incomes and to collect taxes effectively; to clean up government corruption; to improve administrative efficiency; to use additional tax collections and formerly plundered and squandered funds to improve services for the people, especially in education, health, and housing; and to reorganize its electoral system so that democracy can work effectively. But the implementation of these reforms cannot be identified with the establishment of totalitarian Soviet socialism.

There is not only, or mainly, a difference of degree between these two types of social change, as is implied in Matthews' book, but a basic difference of substance. And what a difference!

As to the need to abolish individual and human rights to achieve the needed reforms, we know very well that the popularity of Fidel Castro was so overwhelming that he could have gained eighty or ninety per cent of the popular vote in an election and obtained Congressional ratification for all his non-Communist reforms; he could have maintained all individual rights, including an absolute freedom of the press and still not endanger his reforms in the slightest way.

He did maintain this freedom during the first fifteen or sixteen months of the revolution without weakening his regime. It was only when he began to steer openly towards Communism and to lose popular support that he closed the independent newspapers. An objective examination of Cuban developments shows clearly that Castro did not have to resort to totalitarian methods to achieve the desired and desirable reforms; he used totalitarian methods to achieve the undesired and undesirable transformation of Cuba into a Soviet-type socialist nation.

FELIPE PAZOS
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Objects to Fromm

Dear Sirs:

Recently I have become more and more disappointed with *The Progressive*. The magazine, it seems to me, is becoming "liberal" in a doctrinaire and rather sterile way. Specifically, I object to the November article by Erich Fromm with its advice—let us call a spade a spade—to come to an understanding with Russia at the expense of Germany.

You realize, no doubt, that the enthusiasm for rearmament in Germany has not been fervent. She was urged to contribute to NATO and then criticized for dragging her heels in building up her military establishment and for rearming. Further comment is unnecessary.

I believe *The Progressive* has performed a valuable function, especially during the unholy McCarthy period. I am not sure to what extent your periodical is at present performing a useful function. It would be ridiculous to call it pro-Communist, but in practice it is working towards the very ends that Khrushchev has in mind: a weakening of the Western Alliance. I shall not renew my subscription.

DETLEV W. SCHUMANN
Swarthmore, Pennsylvania

Fromm's Thesis Assailed

Dear Sirs:

Recently, I contributed $10 to keep *The Progressive* alive. After reading Erich Fromm's "The Choice of Europe" in the November issue, I question my wisdom in making the contribution. How can you give space to such ideas, ideas which could result in our resigning our humanity?

Fromm suggests we arrive at an understanding with Russia and neutralize Germany. He conjectures that Germany will rearm and that we, with a British-led Europe and Russia, should stop Germany. Why drive a wedge between ourselves and Germany, whose "vice" seems to be efficiency?

A strong Germany can be our valuable ally. I can hardly believe that another "Pinko-Roosevelt" Administration allied with Britain and a Russia which murdered eight million Kulaks in the 1930's and dispossessed twelve million Germans on the east bank of the Oder River could come about again in this world.

It is your privilege to allow space to whomever you wish, but Fromm's motives for writing the article and yours for printing it interest me and should others.

I have decided not to renew my subscription.

LYLE J. NORTON
San Francisco, California

Importance of Issues

Dear Sirs:

The new emphasis among Wisconsin Democrats upon understanding and working for *issues*, as the strongest motivating force for becoming a party member, voting, and influencing legislation, might well be copied by all state party conventions. It was decided at the recent Wisconsin Democratic convention to have four "issues" meetings throughout the year, in each quarter of the state.

Our first "Know the Issues" literature table was a successful experiment. A wide variety of liberal material was exhibited—magazines not readily found on newsstands. A broad range of social action groups was represented. There were reprints of speeches by Senators and Congressmen on such subjects as disarmament, nuclear testing, and foreign aid; government bulletins, United Nations materials, as well as Democratic Party literature.

Comments were favorable, indicating that Party leaders primarily occupied with administration would do well to recognize the issues, not only as propaganda in election campaigns, but as the very spirit and life of their organization. An awakened sense of personal involvement is the best of all reasons for working in politics.

CHRISTINE WISE
Appleton, Wisconsin

Freedom on the Air

Dear Sirs:

Thanks for the Sherwood Ross article, "Queen of the Airwaves," in the October issue of *The Progressive*. WFMT is another indication that enough people do value excellence in broadcasting. The problem for the broadcaster is to stay on the air long enough to find his audience.

There are two distinct differences between WFMT and the Pacifica stations (KPFA, Berkeley; KPFK, Los Angeles; WBAI, New York) which account, in part, for the "fiscal agonies" Mr. Ross mentions. First, Pacifica radio carries no commercials; it depends entirely upon listener subscriptions and donations. Second, in addition to a full fare of music, drama, letters, and poetry, we tackle a wide range of social, political, and philosophical controversy. Many of *The Progressive's* contributors are heard on the stations. Milton Mayer, Norman Thomas, William O. Douglas, and Sidney Lens have all been on KPFA recently. Urban Whitaker ("Last Chance on China," October *Progressive*) is a regular commentator.

The range is wide. Castro's Cuba has been analyzed and reviewed from the Left and from the Right. A listener may hear Senator Goldwater on what he terms "phony liberalism," former Governor Goodwin Knight's view of political reality, or Herbert Aptheker's "A Communist View of the McCarran-Walter Act." He may meet C. P. Snow, Aldous Huxley, Eric Bentley, or a migrant farm worker from the San Joaquin valley.

Local issues include everything from school bond elections to the activities of the John Birch society. Current programs for children include songs, stories, and a series adapted from Sidney Lens' recent book, *Working Men*.

Live broadcasts and studio concerts (now almost extinct on commercial radio) are part of the design. Bach lovers recently heard the full week's program broadcast live from the Carmel Bach Festival.

KPFA's on-the-spot reporting of the 1960 San Francisco hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities received the California State Fair Award for Excellence in Metropolitan Radio. Both KPFA and KPFK have been awarded broadcasting's most coveted prize, the George Foster Peabody Award.

We may be continually on the edge of insolvency, but we gain, through our subscribers, the freedom to do this kind of broadcasting. I think it is unique in mass communication today.

TREVOR THOMAS
Manager
KPFA
Berkeley, California

Opposes All Testing

Dear Sirs:

It is natural, I suppose, but it seems to me illogical and even unreasonable that the indignation of the non-Communist peoples should be directed against only the Russians for resuming nuclear tests. Their anger should, of course, be directed against the nuclear strategy which compels every nuclear power continually to test its weapons.

In the terms of the nuclear strategy, which the United States originated and to which it and its allies are committed, there is justification for the resumed Russian tests. The Soviets believed they were falling behind the Americans in the development of nuclear weapons. They are supported in this belief by the "score" on nuclear testing recently

published by the Atomic Energy Commission, showing the United States and its allies as having made 181 tests up to October 14, 1961, and Russia 75, plus 31 since October 14.

So the Russians had to make a spurt to catch up with us and restore the balance of power. If it is true (and most of us believe it is) that this balance of power is the great deterrent that preserves the peace, then maintaining that balance is essential to peace. On this premise, the peace would have been endangered if the Russians had *not* resumed their tests. They believe, as we do, that the weaker power invites attack by the stronger. Therefore, peace was jeopardized.

Our leaders hold firmly to this "balance of power" line. Senators Clinton Anderson and Chet Holifield are advocating our resumption of tests as "necessary to keep the pace with Soviet weapon development." Prime Minister Macmillan assured Parliament that "Britain will endorse any atmospheric testing necessary to maintain the balance of power."

If the initial premise of the nuclear strategy is assumed, then the logical consequences must be accepted. Americans have no grounds whatsoever for anger against the Russians for trying to catch up with us in nuclear technology. They are merely maintaining the balance of power, which everybody holds to be the only way to prevent war.

The weakness of this argument as a basis for national policy is immediately apparent. History abounds in examples of catastrophic failures of power-balances, maintained at incredible cost and suffering, to avert war for more than brief, uneasy periods. Sensible men and women, therefore, direct their anger against nuclear testing without regard to geographical boundaries. They oppose tests by France in the Sahara no less than by Russia in Novaya Zemla, or by the United States in Nevada. It is hoped that President Kennedy, a cool-headed man and a student of history, will not be forced into the fatal escalating arms-race that leads only to universal destruction.

TAYLOR ADAMS
New York, New York

Voluntary U.N. Tax

Dear Sirs:

We are again asking for the thoughtful support of your readers in expressing their belief in the United Nations. Last year $75,000 was contributed nationally in support of this idea, in the form of a voluntary tax, as an acknowledgement of each participant's sense of international responsibility.

Over the past two years this action has attracted world-wide attention. Many of the participants have taxed themselves one per cent of their annual incomes. According to the New York *Times*, "This was the first time in history that ordinary citizens voluntarily taxed themselves in support of the principle of world law as a way to peace." We hope that in future years more and more people in this country and in other countries will come to give similar positive expression to their concern for human welfare. Such action will have strong symbolic significance and is also a tangible way for citizens of one country to share with others.

It is not necessary to follow the one per cent formula. Send your voluntary tax, in any amount you choose, to Citizens for the United Nations, 3959 15th Avenue, N.E., Seattle 5, Washington. Make checks payable to: The United Nations.

We will forward all voluntary tax contributions to the United Nations after a significant amount has accumulated, in hopes that the total will be impressive enough to be newsworthy and to encourage others to participate.

This year's tax will be used for United Nations' Technical Assistance in Africa.

SYLVIA H. MACCOLL
Seattle, Washington

Liberal Guidebook

Dear Sirs:

This is in reply to the letter from M. Scott in the November *Progressive*, in which he warns against providing information for my liberal guide book.

My family is a long-time subscriber to *The Progressive*, and before that to the *American Guardian*. I am hardly the type of person to want to give aid and comfort to the John Birch Society. What I want is to give aid and comfort to *liberals* by providing information about the numerous movements and organizations left of center, of the past and present, in the United States. No living persons would be mentioned in my proposed guidebook.

Several enthusiastic and helpful replies have come to me since my letter appeared in the September *Progressive*. I could use many more, however, since there are so many communities in this country which contain the homes of great Americans of the past, progressive institutions, local headquarters of organizations, and similar places of interest to travelers and others. I would also like suggestions about possible publishers.

As for the Birchers, they would certainly have no trouble in learning about liberal and radical groups in their own communities without the aid of my guidebook. Surely it is not necessary for all but conservatives to go underground—or is it?

BERENICE ELLMAN COAN
334 North Berendo Street
Los Angeles 4, California

Fulbright Takes the Lead

Dear Sirs:

In my opinion, Senator J. William Fulbright is now the leading statesman in the United States. This is not necessarily a high compliment, because of the weakness of the competition. Statesmen of outstanding qualifications are pitifully few today in our floundering country.

There was a brief period when I thought that Adlai Stevenson was entitled to this distinction, despite his penchant for flippancy, which I find unbecoming in someone in his position. But that was before he subordinated himself to the voluble, peripatetic, underdeveloped President, John F. Kennedy. A true statesman must wear no man's collar.

ELLIS O. JONES
Washington, D. C.

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BOOKS

Mr. Cash Writes A Book

by DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, Jr.

IT IS NOW twenty years since Alfred A. Knopf published Wilbur Joseph Cash's *The Mind of the South*, perhaps the most brilliant essay ever written on the Southern character. It has become a classic in the literature on the South and unquestionably is one of the most significant and widely-read attempts to explain America's most enigmatic region. The book has gone through several printings (including a Vintage paperback edition) and is studied in classrooms and book groups throughout the country. It is often the first volume placed in the hands of the stranger who expresses a desire to learn something about the South. No self-respecting writer whose subject is the Southern part of the United States would fail to quote Cash—and usually to substantiate his own conclusions.

The enormous influence of *The Mind of the South* was forecast by its initial impact. Most of the reviews recognized the volume's importance and characterized it as a courageous and penetrating piece of regional self-criticism. But the book was not always given a cordial reception, and it was vehemently condemned in some quarters of the South. Indeed, the violent criticism and the personal abuse Cash encountered almost certainly contributed to his tragic suicide a few months after the appearance of the book. Another aspect of his experience in writing *The Mind of the South* may have done even more to drive Cash to take his own life. There has been, as V. O. Key once observed, a distressingly high rate of self-destruction among those "who ponder about the South and put down their reflections in books. A fatal frustration seems to come from the struggle to find a way through the unfathomable maze formed by tradition, caste, race, poverty."

Although Cash wrote of the South with sympathy and even an occasional hint of nostalgia, it is easy to understand why he was attacked by so many Southerners. For *The Mind of the South* probes into the deeper recesses of the Southern psyche and dispassionately analyzes the Southern mystique. It is also a powerful assault upon the South's illusions, and the emotional response of many people below the Potomac was exactly the kind of response one would expect from a people in the thrall of the illusions Cash describes. Wilbur J. Cash was one of those exceptional persons who, as one of his reviewers said, "can view their homeland with calm detachment, analyze its traits, and write about them unemotionally and well."

Perhaps Cash was unique? It is not likely so. A South Carolinian by birth, a Baptist, and a Democrat, he was educated at Wofford and Wake Forest. After a brief interlude during which he toyed with the idea of a legal career and tried his hand at teaching English and French, he turned to journalism. He was employed at different times by several newspapers and in 1937 became associate editor of the Charlotte *News*, a liberal journal in what George Fort Milton once described as "the unofficial capital of North Carolina's embattled conservatism." This no doubt does much to explain Cash's general position. It is also apparent that he was influenced by such people as Gerald W. Johnson and H. L. Mencken (Cash was a contributor to the *American Mercury*) and that he learned a great deal from the regional analyses prepared at the University of North Carolina by such scholars as Howard W. Odum and Rupert B. Vance. Whatever the source of his information and inspiration, he embodied in magnificent fashion that spirit of youthful skepticism and incipient liberalism increasingly evident in the South by the 1930's.

The Mind of the South is not a general history of the region, nor even, strictly speaking, an intellectual history. One will not find here a straightforward account of the South's economic development, of important party battles, or of the sectional conflict; neither will one find in Cash a discussion of the outstanding Southern intellectuals. The author's approach is literary and imaginative rather than scholarly. He is concerned with the intangibles of the Southern past: the region's romanticism, its intense individualism, its relative lack of class feeling, its violence, its fondness for rhetoric, and the curious paradox involved in its hedonism and puritanism, and in its aristocratic tradition and its democratic professions. The organization is intricate, ingenious, and original. In places the writing becomes somewhat tortuous, but for the most part the style is of superior literary quality and occasionally verges on the poetic. To read the book is to discover what a marvelously well-informed man Cash was. He was steeped in the history and folklore of the South, and he was an astute observer of the passing scene, especially of developments in the two Carolinas.

Cash's major thesis is the continuity of the Southern mind, by which he means that Southerners early became fixed in certain ways of thinking and feeling. "The mind of the section, that is, is continuous with the past." In trying to identify and describe those elements that made Southerners "of one mind," Cash postulates what he calls the Basic Southerner, or the Man in the Center. The Basic Southerner, essentially an exceedingly

simple man, was molded by the frontier milieu that existed in much of the South until the firing on Fort Sumter and by the aristocratic tradition brought over from the colonial South and made pervasive by the apparent triumph of the Cotton Kingdom. The Man in the Center was also affected, and powerfully so, by what Cash speaks of as the Proto-Dorian Convention and the Savage Ideal. The first of these terms refers to that complex of Southern white attitudes produced by the "peculiar institution"—to the "vastly ego-warming and ego-expanding distinction between the white man and the black." The second is a kind of shorthand designation for that ideal, adumbrated in the earliest sectional conflict over slavery, under which dissent and variety were completely suppressed and men "became, in all their attitudes, professions, and actions, virtual replicas of one another." In Southern unity before the foe "lay the final bulwark of every established commonplace."

The emphasis is aways upon "the ancient pattern" of the Southern mind continually shaping events and circumstances to its own uses. Thus the Civil War, Reconstruction, the crusade for industrialization, the economic expansiveness of the first two decades of the Twentieth Century, the opportunities and problems of the Twenties, and the New Deal revolution of the Thirties, while transforming the region's economic and social system, failed to destroy the continuity of the Southern mind and, indeed, in Cash's view, even strengthened in some respects the hold of that mind on most Southerners.

Cash's emphasis upon the continuity of the Southern mind is undoubtedly a valuable corrective to the popular stereotype that draws a sharp contrast between the Old and the New South, and to the professional historians' habit of dividing the past into well-defined periods. Y t, having set out to show that the mind of the South "is continuous with the past," Cash is naturally led to select those facts which will support the thesis that the pattern of the Old South is still operating in the New. The result is that a certain unreality attaches itself to his treatment of such historical developments as Populism and to the social and economic implications of industrialism. For it can be argued with greater logic, perhaps, that these developments are evidence of class conflict, of political dissent, and of a society racked by profound internal disagreement. Part of the trouble would seem to lie in Cash's failure as a historian, or at least in his misreading of Southern history. This is particularly true of the antebellum period, where the origins of Southern traits are not adequately explained and the main arguments need to be elaborated.

Again, Cash often fails to distinguish between significant developments that were characteristically Southern and those that were taking place everywhere in the nation. Since he did not set out to write a formal history or a sociological essay, he should not be criticized for not having produced such works. Still, *The Mind of the South* reveals such familiarity with the region's history and with social science concepts that one wishes the author had at least made known to the reader the historical rubric or conceptual framework out of which he wrote.

Whatever its limitations as history and whatever its methodological faults from the point of view of the social scientist, *The Mind of the South* is indubitably a wise and revealing book, filled with brilliant passages that illuminate the nature of the South[illegible] people. And Cash has [illegible] virtue of approaching the mind or character of the South in its totality, rather than examining separate traits in a piecemeal manner. No one has offered a more convincing explanation of such imponderables in the Southern past as the paradox of aristocracy and democracy in the Old South, the central role of race in the Southern situation and the relationship of sex to the race complex, the low threshold of violence south of the Mason and Dixon Line, and the nature of Southern demagoguery.

Following Cash has come a host of journalists and regional writers attempting to interpret the South. Although Cash influenced most of these interpreters, it would be too much to say that he inspired their work. Yet most of them, like Cash, assumed that Southern society possessed an extraordinary degree of unity, and as young critics they were eager to get on with the business of regional self-criticism. Scarcely a year has passed since 1941 without the appearance of at least one serious effort in this vein, as is evidenced in the books of Harry S. Ashmore, Hodding Carter, James M. Dabbs, Virginius Dabney, Jonathan Daniels, Wilma Dykeman, P. D. East, Ralph McGill, Katharine DuPre Lumpkin, Henry Savage, Jr., and others.

The scholars have also found the South an attractive field of study. The Odum School of regional analysts at the University of North Carolina has continued to be productive, with the publication of important volumes like Vance's *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South* (1945) and the appearance of significant monographs dealing with rural society, community power structure, organized labor, and the like. Although the agrarians at Vanderbilt University have long since dispersed and, save for an occasional essay by Donald Davidson, have no longer addressed themselves to the theme they made famous thirty years ago, William H. Nicholls and his students at Vanderbilt have carried out a series of valuable economic studies concerned with the transformation of the South from an agrarian to an industrial society. The colleges and universities have also turned out some important studies in Southern politics and government, including V. O.

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Key's monumental *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (1949), Alexander Heard's *A Two-Party South?* (1952), Cortez A. M. Ewing's *Primary Elections in the South* (1953), and articles by Donald S. Strong.

But it is history that has made the most prodigious advance in the field of Southern studies. A ten-volume history of the South, published by Louisiana State University and the Littlefield Fund of the University of Texas, is nearing completion, and a veritable flood of monographs, state studies, and biographies dealing with the region's past has emanated from the leading Southern graduate schools and university presses. The Southern Historical Association and its quarterly, the *Journal of Southern History*, have demonstrated an amazing vitality and influence. The region has experienced a remarkable development of state and local historical societies and journals, the launching of impressive documentary series, and the establishment of annual lectures on Southern history and literature. Finally, the ablest Southern historians have taken a leaf from Cash, and have begun to interpret the complex of attitudes that make up the mind and character of the South. C. Vann Woodward's *The Burden of Southern History* (1960) is a brilliant example.

In speaking of literary progress in the 1930's, Cash facetiously remarked that the multiplication of Southern writers had proceeded so rapidly "until anybody who fired off a gun in the region was practically certain to kill an author." There has been no diminution in the output of the Southern poets, playwrights, and novelists during the last two decades, and the work of William Faulkner, Robert Penn Warren, Katherine Anne Porter, Eudora Welty, Lillian Smith, and others testifies to the existence of a genuine literary renaissance in Dixie. Allen Tate, among others, has suggested that the "peculiarly historical consciousness" of most of these writers is the real source of inspiration for the Southern literary movement. Their consciousness of the past in the present, to use Vann Woodward's phrase, and their tendency to view Southern society as an organic whole are reminiscent of Cash and suggest a basic similarity in the views of Southern historians and Southern men of letters.

One may be tempted to believe, when confronted with frequent outbreaks of race hysteria and mob violence in the South, that Cash was right after all. Is the Proto-Dorian Convention as effective as ever? Is the Savage Ideal still triumphant? Has the mind of the South reaffirmed its continuity, its indestructibility? It would be interesting if Cash could answer these questions himself by adding a chapter to his book covering the past twenty years.

Even in 1941 Cash admitted that the mind of the South, since World War I, held the region less firmly in its grip than was true in earlier years. During the past two decades change has become the pattern in the region below the Potomac. Enormous economic changes, vast population shifts, rapid urbanization, new voting patterns, and revolutionary racial innovations have swept over the Southern part of the United States. There is much talk in the present South about the ancient ways, and all manner of myths have sprung up to substantiate them. But it is rather difficult for the student of Southern history to be persuaded, the current sound and fury notwithstanding, that this "mind" of the South is "continuous with the past." One wonders if Wilbur J. Cash would think so either.

In reality, the modern white South is too divided within itself—and along lines quite similar to the rest of the country—to be able to support the ingenious device Cash began with, the Basic Southerner. Rather than *the* mind of the South, one must now speak of the *minds* of the South.

This is not to say that Southerners have lost their regional identity. Far from it. The average Southerner is unquestionably more closely identified, in his own mind, with his native section than are Americans in other regions. He is probably more conscious of history—at least of the peculiar history of his own region—than the average non-Southerner, and he is perhaps more interested in place and locality and community. These attributes of Southernism—and there are others—have little to do with Cash's Proto-Dorian Convention or Savage Ideal. But they are a part of the Southern heritage that Cash would have wanted perpetuated.

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Science and Society

SCIENCE IN THE CAUSE OF MAN, by Gerard Piel. Knopf. 298 pp. $5.

Reviewed by

Edward Lurie

IN THE confident philosophy of progress of the Nineteenth Century, nature, viewed as a beneficient denmother, had only to be flattered and understood to bring her treasures pouring forth in man's service. This Isaac Newton in the guise of a kindly Mary Worth needed helpers, men who knew the secrets of science and could communicate them for the instruction of others. Thomas Henry Huxley, Alexander von Humboldt, Louis Agassiz, and Benjamin Silliman were all scientists animated by this spirit. Now, science has not only grown more complex, but its applications—fission and fusion, megatons and strontium 90—have terrifying social consequences. Man still wants to understand, perhaps if only to recognize the forces that conspire to maim and kill him, but more hopefully to control the dynamos his intellect has fashioned.

Gerard Piel is one such man. Science works, he maintains, "in the cause of man," and this book contains what might be called the position papers of the publishers of *Scientific American* in the form of essays and addresses presented during the years from 1950 to 1961. Piel, unlike his Nineteenth Century forerunners, is not a scientist. His is a new profession, that of a writer and publicist whose efforts at popularizing science and its consequences are undertaken so that "the . . . citizenry of our

democratic society . . . be especially informed . . . about the work of science if it is to make wise judgments in public affairs." He boasts that this profession also serves to help scientists communicate among themselves and to convince humanists that science, too, can serve as a moral guide to behavior.

Science, says Piel, is a progressive enterprise of marvelous potentiality. Its benefits can liberate man from disease, illiteracy, poverty, hard labor, and social oppression. But sins are committed in its name. Government security programs that restrict individual freedom, the influence of subsidized applied research as it affects the university and its scientists, the false identification of science with technology, the emphasis upon military needs at the expense of peaceful applications of knowledge—all these and similar signposts of our age are examined and criticized in Piel's forthright and lucid style. He thus analyzes the technology of aid to underdeveloped areas, the problems of national security versus individual freedom, the exploitation of natural resources, and the rational applications of Keynesian economics.

If one had to choose the best in this book, I would pick the notable description of the case of Robert Oppenheimer, the portrayal of Atomic Energy Commission security procedures, and the incisive assessment of the National Defense Education Act. Convinced that "there is a deep connection between science and the social order of self-governing democracy," Piel's essays make instructive reading because they represent, in microcosm, the enthusiasm and the pessimism of a sensitive American writing within a decade that witnessed ever greater displays of the power of science both to destroy and to liberate man. Piel thus reflects the perplexity and the anxiety of his culture as more sputniks dot the sky, devices that do not speak English or honor John Locke.

Piel usually comes up with the right answers to questions dictated by the concerns of his audience. As popular addresses to university convocations, women's clubs, undergraduate assemblies, or committees of Congress, Piel's words do not so much instruct as they mirror the level of knowledge of his hearers and articulate their wonder and insecurity. While I am not demanding that one be a flower in order to understand the history of botany, I do suggest that there is a certain precision, sophistication, and hesitancy in the public utterances of a Loren Eisely, a Julian Huxley, and a C. P. Snow that is lacking in Piel's statements. Perhaps this is because these men are themselves engaged in the processes they describe. If the new profession of responsible science-writing is to bridge, in America, the partly Snow-filled gap between intellect and understanding, it would seem that greater rationality, more intensive treatment of complicated material, and less willingness to jump in where others fear to tread, are called for.

Yet Piel is so well-intentioned in imparting his information and communicating his concerns, and so much a model for others of his occupation, that his work must be ranked as valuable. If he serves an American penchant for immediate evaluations and answers to complex questions, this urge is in itself a survival from an age where science was more amenable to public understanding. The problem for the future, as Piel is aware, is the achievement of responsible public education in science in a world where the theories and problems that generate this requirement grow every day more intricate and thus further separated from common comprehension.

'Our Man in Moscow'

MOSCOW JOURNAL. THE END OF STALIN, by Harrison E. Salisbury. University of Chicago Press. 450 pp. $6.95.

Reviewed by

Michael B. Petrovich

"ALL I KNOW," Will Rogers quipped, "is what I read in the papers." This statement pretty much describes general American knowledge of Soviet affairs. Consequently the quality and quantity of American reporting from the Soviet Union are matters of vital importance. Yet the authors of much of that news have been limited to a half-dozen American journalists who must operate in a closed Soviet system which is opposed to freedom of the press.

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count of the life of New York *Times* correspondent Harrison E. Salisbury during his Moscow assignment from March, 1949, to October, 1953, the last half-decade of Stalin's dictatorship. It evokes the significant events of some of the most crucial days of the cold war in the light of Soviet internal affairs—the hate-America campaign, the wave of anti-Semitism, the "Doctors' Plot," Stalin's death, Beria's downfall, and the struggle which eventually ousted Malenkov and brought Khrushchev to power. During most of these five years the entire American press corps in the U.S.S.R. consisted of five men—Eddy Gilmore and Tom Whitney of Associated Press, Henry Shapiro of United Press, Andrew Steiger of Reuters, and Salisbury. They must have felt like the spectators of the proverbial dog fight under a blanket. Yet, as they all discovered, it is not only devilishly hard to get at the real news in the Soviet Union; it is even harder to get it out of the Soviet Union and to the home office, because of censorship and a hundred other frustrations.

Those readers who tend to suppose that the life of a foreign correspondent in Moscow is a glamorous one will learn that it is not all a bowl of caviar. There is the loneliness of the American in a mid-Victorian Moscow hotel, far from his family in Minneapolis, and a leper in Soviet society by virtue of being a Western newsman. There are the problems of mere housekeeping, of getting a cook (restaurant meals are too expensive), a secretary (to double as an interpreter), a chauffeur (because you can't get a Soviet driver's license). There is the dead hand of the censor, always ready to blank out almost any news that goes beyond the dreary official handouts. There are the exasperating restrictions on travel. There are the outrageously incompetent telephone and telegraph operators who have no respect for time, even when a cable is marked *urgent* and paid for at the double rate. And almost periodically throughout the book Salisbury includes another in a series of notes to the Soviet director in charge of foreign correspondents: "Precisely one year ago," one of them begins, "I wrote you requesting a three- or four-room apartment. I have not yet received that apartment. . . ."

This book is no sensational expose of the "secrets of the Kremlin." Indeed, it leads one to think—going back to Will Rogers' remark—that most of what even the enterprising, intelligent American reporter in the Soviet Union knows is what he gleans from the Soviet press. Yet this does not mean that Salisbury was unable to learn a great deal on his own. Especially interesting is his description of the situation at the time of Stalin's death and Beria's unsuccessful bid for power. The book is full of dispatches which had been "killed" by the Moscow censors. These ought to squelch thoughtless charges in various letters to the editor of the *Times* that their Moscow correspondent was "soft on the Russians." Salisbury was so upset by such letters that he begged his editor to preface every dispatch with a warning to the reader that this was all the Soviet censor would allow to go through.

The best part of Salisbury's book is not the news reports which never made the pages of the New York *Times*, but rather his penetrating and deeply human observations on life in the Soviet Union. This American Middle Westerner came to know the Russians and their language well. He even lived part of the time in a Russian village where he had a cottage and garden. His journal records the conversation of tired women queued up before shops, the rapture of an Orthodox Easter service, the primeval rhythms of rural Russia, the chicanery of bureaucrats, a funeral, a day in the park, the circus, the drabness under leaden skies, Ivan Ivanovich's hopes for peace and a better life. I also want to cite Salisbury's thoughtful observations on life in the United States as seen from the perspective of

THE REVIEWERS

DEWEY W. GRANTHAM, JR. is a professor of history at Vanderbilt University. EDWARD LURIE is an associate professor of history at Wayne State University and the author of "Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science." MICHAEL B. PETROVICH, a professor of history at the University of Wisconsin, is a Russion scholar who has traveled and studied extensively in Russia and Eastern Europe. SIDNEY LENS has made several recent trips as a free-lance reporter to Cuba and Latin America. ALFRED WERNER is a distinguished art critic and lecturer. He has edited several art books and is the author of the forthcoming "Amedeo Modigliani, Sculptor," to be published by Arts.

an American in Moscow. There is much to learn from these sober and chastening remarks.

All in all, I am glad Salisbury was our man in Moscow.

Lesson in Cuba

THE CUBAN STORY, by Herbert L. Matthews. George Braziller. 331 pp. $4.50.

TRAGIC ISLAND, HOW COMMUNISM CAME TO CUBA, by Irving Peter Pflaum. Prentice-Hall. 168 pp. $3.95.

Reviewed by

Sidney Lens

EARLIER this year I appeared with Herbert Matthews at a Quaker institute on Latin America. At each session leafleteers of the lunatic Right distributed circulars berating the New York *Times* editorial writer as the evil genius behind Fidel Castro's victory in Cuba, a stooge for the Communist conspiracy, and worse. I wondered then: "Can this man stand up under such a continuing barrage?"

The Cuban Story resolves my doubts. Whatever you may think of Matthews' estimate of Cuba or Castro, you are obliged to acknowledge that here is a man in the upper echelons of contemporary journalism. Matthews was the first journalist to interview Castro after he reached the Sierra Maestre. At the time, Batista's government insisted that Castro was dead and his invading force exterminated. Matthews' story contradicted these claims and gave the July 26th movement one of its greatest psychological lifts. It was undoubtedly a turning point in Castro's fortunes.

Years later, after Castro had come to power, conservative opinion in America—looking for a scapegoat—converted Matthews' journalistic interview into a plot to "bring Communism to Cuba." It is against such nonsense that the *Times* reporter counterpunches. *The Cuban Story* is not so much the story of Cuba as a polemic against hysteria.

In dignified but unyielding prose, Matthews reaffirms his conviction that in all his four decades as a newspaperman he has never seen a story "so misunderstood, so misinterpreted, and so badly handled as the Cuban Revolution." Revolutions, he says, cannot be judged by the maxims of McCarthyism, nor extirpated by the witchery of labels. They are necessary reflexes against tyranny and despair. To dismiss the Cuban Revolution or Fidel Castro as "Communist" is to miss the lesson of history. For Castro is not now, was not yesterday, and probably never can be a Communist. And the Cuban Revolution, whatever label you choose to attach to it, is the most significant event on this hemisphere in our century. Despite its limitations and no matter how it ends, "it will not have been in vain."

To confuse *Fidelismo* with Communism is a grievous error, for the Cuban doctrine is far more radical than Communism and has an attractiveness all its own in Latin America. Matthews does not feel that the present rapprochement with Moscow is final, any more than was that of Nasser or Tito.

Castro emerges from these pages not as a fiery psychopath but a "remarkable young man" with vision and compassion. If he has drifted to the Communist bloc, Matthews notes that he had little choice in the light of our State Department's stoneheadedness. Neither Ambassadors Gardner nor Smith understood the situation, and Ambassador Bonsal—after Castro came to power—was too stiff to do anything more than ask for "prompt, adequate, and effective compensation" for American property.

In the quiet terms that characterize this book, Matthews makes light of President Kennedy's demand that Castro cut his Sino-Soviet ties. "We were, in effect, asking Fidel Castro to give up his Revolution."

"Thank the Lord for the United States and Cuba that the invasion of April 17, 1961, failed!"

Some of Matthew's book is repetitious. I would disagree with many of its points, but it stands at the top as a cry for objectivity, and a polemic against the McCarthyist critique of revolutions.

Irving Pflaum's *Tragic Island* attacks the subject from a different focal point. Unlike Matthews, he lumps *Fidelismo* and *Communismo* in the same bracket. But he, too, sees no alternative but to live with the Cuban Revolution. He urges us to shed the illusion "that the Caribbean area is ours to control behind a barrier of military power and dominated

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by our economy." Cuba, he says, cannot be a "cold war pawn." We must "revive the sugar quota and make it as permanent as possible . . . Include Cuba in a hemisphere banking plan for long-term and large-scale financing . . . Encourage U. S. tourism in Cuba and Cuban tourism in the United States . . . Unilaterally offer to remove our naval base in five years."

Pflaum, the former foreign editor of the Chicago *Sun Times,* has no sympathy for Castro. His criticism is as sharp in many respects as that of Theodore Draper or Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Yet with Matthews he ends on the note that we must "sustain" the Cuban Revolution. If it were in his power, Plfaum would cast Fidel Castro on the historical ash heap. But with or without Castro, he would save the Revolution.

My disagreement with Pflaum on the course of Cuba is too deep to discuss here. Mistakes, and even injustices, are endemic to social change as drastic as the Cuban Revolution, and particularly with the pressure Cuba has been under since its inception. To elevate these mistakes and injustices beyond their significance and to bury the great positive achievements of the Revolution constitutes a serious departure from objective analysis.

But all this aside, the most serious defect of Pflaum's work is its poor writing. The chapters lack central themes; there is too much jumping from one anecdote to another. The author's viewpoint—because he is so bent on proving "how Communism came to Cuba"—is lost somewhere in a graveyard of negativism. But like Matthews, he does expose the holier-than-thou stance of the State Department, and that should be welcome fare for all liberals.

The Best in Art

by Alfred Werner

"In our prosperity we have surrounded ourselves with the greatest cultural resources known to any society," a recent article in the New York *Herald Tribune* asserted, adding: "Art, regarded for many years as the private luxury of an affluent few, has now become public domain." This is particularly true of books concerned with the plastic arts. In price they range from *The Cathedral Builders,* by Jean Gimpel (Grove Press. $1.35), a paperback dealing with churchmen, architects, artists, and craftsmen of medieval France, to the album, *Marc Chagall: Gouaches* (Abrams. $50), which contains ten large and superb reproductions that are well worth framing.

The beginner may welcome the richly illustrated *Golden Encyclopedia of Art* (Golden Press. $12.50), edited by Eleanor C. Munro, which covers painting, sculpture, architecture, and ornament from the stone age to the atomic and also contains a glossary of art terms and thumbnail biographies of artists.

For more advanced lovers of art is *The Archaic Gravestones of Attica,* by Gisela M. S. Richter (Phaidon Press. $15), introducing the magnificent marble tombstones with which wealthy Athenian aristocrats commemorated their loved ones, and *The Hellenistic Origins of Byzantine Art,* by D. V. Ainalov (Rutgers University Press. $12.50) which refutes those historians who believed Byzantine art to be Roman in origin, and establishes that it actually was a heritage of the great Hellenistic markets of the Middle East. The Byzantine style had a considerable influence on the Thirteenth Century Tuscan

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artists, discussed by Ernest T. de Wald in the initial chapters of *Italian Painting 1200-1600* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston. $12.50). The book goes on to lead us through the early Renaissance to the achievements of Michelangelo and Raphael and their imitators. Special attention should be called to *The Genius of Leonardo da Vinci*, edited by Andre Chastel (Orion Press. $12.50) which not only lists and illustrates the master's principal paintings and drawings, but also offers substantial portions of his voluminous writings.

Those of us who cannot travel to far-away countries will be pleased to know that two of the world's greatest museums need no longer be mysteries to us, thanks to *The Hermitage Museum*, by Pierre Descargues (Abrams. $7.50) and *Dresden Gemaeldegalerie*, by Gertrud Rudloff-Hille (Yoseloff. $8.50). The Hermitage collection in Leningrad, a creation of Catherine the Great, was the pride of many tsars, and originally contained only works of the Old Masters. In our century, however, wealthy Russian merchants like Stchoukine and Morosov acquired early works by Matisse, Picasso, and other modernists, and these, too, can be found in Leningrad and in the present book. The Gemaeldegalerie, once the treasured collection of the Saxon kings, is now also a State Gallery; it is owned by the East German Republic and is particularly famous for Raphael's Sistine Madonna. In both books scholarly commentaries accompanied the reproductions.

Washington's National Gallery is within the reach of most of us, but we welcome, nevertheless, the handsome large volume, *Art Treasures for America* (Phaidon Press. $12.50) that reproduces and discusses many of the superb paintings, from Giotto to Ingres, that the merchant prince, Samuel H. Kress (1863-1955), donated to the capital's art gallery. In this connection, mention might be made of Washington's other great repository of art, the Corcoran Gallery, which expanded one of its ambitious exhibition catalogues to present it under the title, *The American Muse* (Viking Press. $10). In the book, curator Henri Dorra collected paintings, poetry, and prose from the Colonial Period to the 1940's, to trace the constant growth of America's creative genius.

Four outstanding books are devoted to individual masters. One of them is *Henri Rousseau*, by Jean Bouret (New York Graphic Society. $25), in which the work of the untutored and somewhat naive Nineteenth Century toll collector is presented with all the love and respect that is due this originally unappreciated genius. *Oskar Kokoschka*, by Bernhard Bultmann (Abrams. $20) deals with an Austrian Expressionist painter whose talents were not recognized by his native country, whose works were labeled "degenerate" under the Nazi regime, and who ate the bitter bread of self-inflicted exile, to achieve world-wide fame only in old age. The quiet and dignified Georges Braque is less widely known than the mercurial and histrionic Picasso, yet posterity may very well consider him to be the purer artist, and right now two publications, a large volume, *G. Braque*, by John Richardson (New York Graphic Society. $12.50), and a much smaller one, *Braque*, by Jean Leymarie (Skira. $5.75) appear in time to pay homage to the Cubist painter on the eve of his eightieth birthday. A unique book is *Van Gogh, A Self-Portrait*, edited by W. H. Auden (New York Graphic Society. $10). From the three-volume edition of his *Complete Letters* the poet selected only those which "contain reflections upon the art of painting and the problems of being a painter."

The Artist and Social Reform by Eugenia W. Herbert (Yale University Press. $5) is a serious attempt to point out to what an extent painters and sculptors of France and Belgium participated in the social struggles from 1885 to 1898. The book deserves special mention because it explodes the notion that artists (as well as poets) are, by necessity, happy-go-lucky fellows, too egocentric to care for anything but their creations.

Do the creations of Sunday painters really belong in the realm of art? Although Henri Rousseau, who was a professional artist without training, is included in the volume, *Modern Primitives: Masters of Naive Painting*, by Oto Bihalji-Merin (Abrams. $15), some people may be reluctant to confer the name of artist to, say, such an indefatigable mass producer of mildly charming daubs as our own Grandma Moses. The author admits that along with authentic naive arts there exists much that is "merely inept or rudimentary." One must be grateful to him for having included, apart from Rousseau, such gifted "primitives" as Bauchant, Bombois, Generalic, Hicks, and Hirshfield.

There can be no doubt, however, that the sculpture of the African Negro is, in many instances, art of the highest order, though as recently as forty or fifty years ago few people regarded these works as anything but idols, or of more than ethnographic interest. In *Africa: The Art of the African Tribes* (Crown. $5.95), Elsy Leuzinger is both enthusiastic and scholarly about the often rather abstract wood, terra cotta, and bronze pieces from Southwestern and Central Africa, all of them tinged with religious feeling. Curiously, the finest African sculpture comes from areas where matriarchy prevails, "where woman holds a dominant position in society." Among the large number of books dealing with the subject, the present one is, despite all the scholarly apparatus, the most readable.

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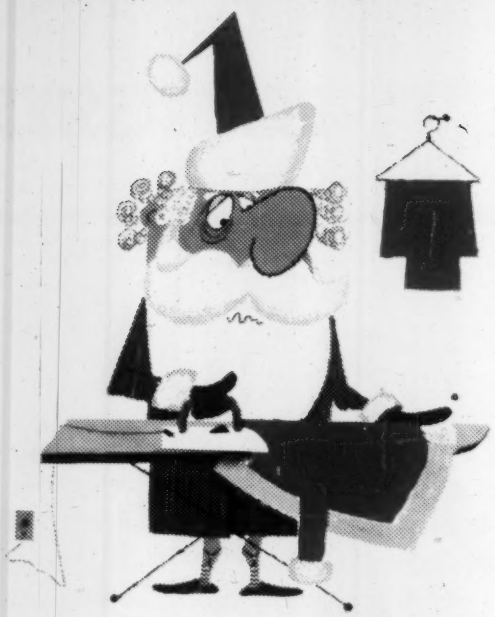

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